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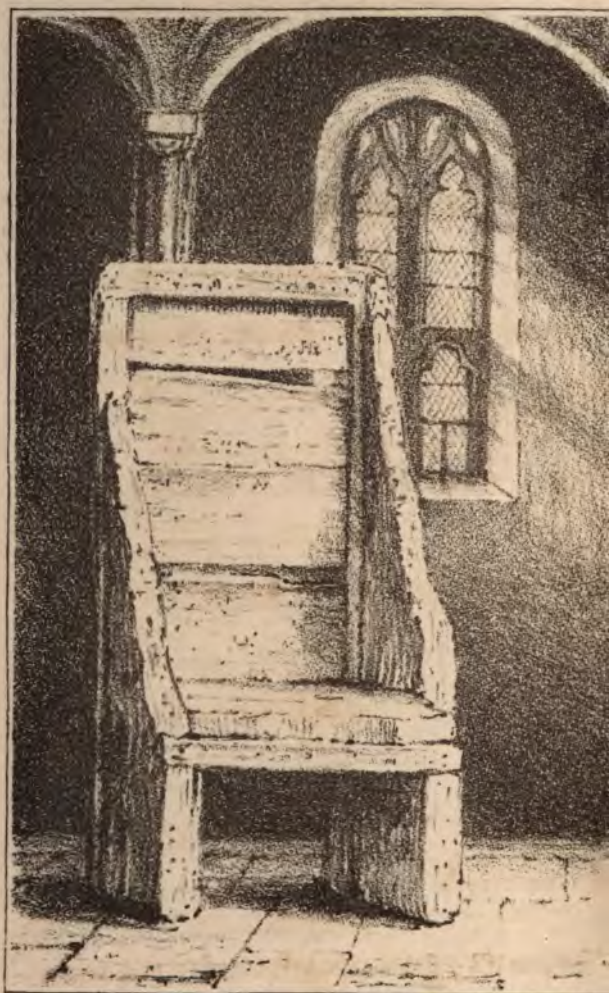
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BEDE'S CHAIR.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS

TO THE PASSING OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL, IN 1829.

BY J. B. HOLROYD.

"Nescire quid anteaquam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum."—CICERO.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

It is a remark of Cicero's, "that to be ignorant of what transpired before one was born is to be always a child." There is no species of writing more generally read, or more calculated to enlarge our acquaintance with men and things, than history, which brings in review before us the characters and events of past ages.

The changes which the religion of our country has undergone renders its history highly interesting to all the true friends of Christianity. Yet, in no branch of English literature is there so great a dearth as that which exists in the absence of an impartial history of the religion of the land. Our ancient ecclesiastical historians, to whom we are greatly indebted, have so loaded their writings with the marvellous, that it is no easy task to separate facts from fiction. Whilst many writers, subsequent to Bede, have written so much under the influence of party spirit, that the relation of the same fact often forms the most glaring dis-

crepancy, there are others whose chief aim has been to compromise the differences between the church of England and the church of Rome.

The progress of Christianity in England is so interwoven with the civil and political affairs of the nation, that it is impossible to write the history of the one without introducing portions of the other, as they are often found in the relation of cause and effect. It is therefore greatly to be lamented that some of our most popular civil historians never introduce religion but when they can place it in an unfavourable light. The faithful historian cannot conceal the fact, that England has produced men so devoid of principle as to make the holy religion of Jesus Christ a stalking-horse to serve the basest political purposes, and cover the worst of crimes; but he will not therefore so compromise the truth as to confound the character of Christianity with that of its pretended friends.

In compiling this brief history every accessible work which had a bearing on the subject has been laid under contribution; and where the sentiments of different authors could not be reconciled, an attempt has been made to bring the whole into as condensed a form as possible, by relating the facts which appeared to be best supported by corresponding testimonies without any comment. In the earlier part of the work references are given to a number of authors where the subjects are treated more at large; but the

same plan has not been pursued in writing the history of modern times.

It is highly interesting to trace the effects produced by the influence of Christianity upon our heathen ancestors, in subduing the ferocity of their tempers, reclaiming them from their barbarous habits, restraining them from wandering in their native forests, with scarcely any clothing, uniting them in civil society, and conforming them to the precepts of the Gospel. In proportion as its benign spirit was diffused we behold it raising the tone of the national character, and bringing prosperity to the state.

It is of importance to know by what means the corrupt system of popery gained such an ascendency in England, and to observe how it was opposed in its progress by the pious in the church and the wise in the state, who clearly saw that its principles were *inimical* to the interests of both. From an impartial view of facts, it is evident that, from the period when the Pope began to exercise his despotic power over the consciences of men in this country, the moral character of the nation began to sink, and ignorance, degradation, and crime followed in the train. In the seventh century popery arrived at its full growth in Britain, and continued to maintain an almost unlimited authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, until its galling yoke was broken at the glorious Reformation.

An impartial record of all the leading events of our ecclesiastical history, narrated in their consecutive order, and compressed into a convenient size, has long been a desideratum. How far the writer of this work has succeeded in attempting to supply it must be left to his readers to decide. This, however, he can say, that to the best of his judgment he has given an unbiassed statement of facts, without seeking the favour of either persons or party; and should the reader feel as much interested in the subject as the writer has done, he will rise from the perusal with a warmer attachment to Protestantism,—more gratitude to Almighty God for delivering this nation from papal thraldom,—and a resolution daily to pray that our happy isle may be always under the government of a Protestant prince, unfettered by the degrading domination of a Roman pontiff.

July, 1834.

INTRODUCTION

OF

CHRISTIANITY INTO ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

System of Druidism.—The Island of Mona taken by the Romans, and the Druids destroyed.—Caractacus carried prisoner to Rome.—His Conversion to Christianity.—Pomponia Græcina, the lady of Plautius, tried on the charge of being a Christian.—Hinderances to the spread of Christianity.—Account of King Lucius.—The Persecution under Dioclesian.—Alban the protomartyr.—The Reign of Constantine.—The Pelagian heresy.—Notices of St. Ninian, and St. Patrick.

THE accounts given by all the writers of Ancient British History, represent the state of our Heathen Ancestors, as being the most wretched, degraded, and barbarous. The superstitious system of Druidism which then prevailed throughout the land; being destitute of the knowledge of the One true God, there was in it no principle to produce justice,

temperance, and chastity; but every thing calculated to foster the most diabolical passions, and countenance the most nefarious practices.

The Druids performed most of their idolatrous rites in groves of oak-trees. On their festivals, the Arch Druid, dressed in fine linen with a cope or mitre, on his head, took his station under the largest oak, attended by the inferior Priests. All the prisoners they took in battle, were sacrificed to their gods. The Arch Druid was the sacrificer, and the manner in which he performed the bloody rite, was at once the most barbarous and cruel. The victim was first stripped naked and fastened to a tree, opposite to that under which the Arch Druid stood;—or, if the ceremony was reformed in one of their temples, which consisted of a circle formed of large stone pillars, there being always one larger than the rest, at which the Arch Druid stood, and the victim was fastened to the one opposite. Having first invoked the gods to accept the sacrifice, he walked forward with a knife in his hand, and stabbed the victim in the bowels amidst the shouts, music, and dancing of the people; while the sacrificer pretended to foretel future events, by the flowing of the blood.

When in their wars they succeeded in taking a number of prisoners, they prepared a machine of a kind of wicker, or basket work, bearing some rude resemblance to a human figure, in which they enclosed the unhappy victims by hundreds, without any regard to age or sex. These sacrifices were generally offered in their open temples, in the centre of which was a hollow place for holding the fuel, over which the machine was placed, and the whole set on fire by the Arch Druid, who with the inferior Priests, sung a hymn in praise of their gods, while, to drown the cries of the sufferers, the people danced to their music round the burning pile, till the whole was reduced to ashes. By being habituated to such sanguinary scenes, every feeling of tenderness and humanity were erased from their breasts, and they daily became more hard and barbarous, so that their habitations, were indeed, *the habitations of cruelty.*

As the Romans extended their conquests, the Druids were driven from one place to another, till at last they shut themselves up in the Isle of Mona, or Anglesey, an Island on the northern extremity of Wales, from which it is separated only by a narrow channel called the Menai. This place, was by the Britains considered the most sacred,

being the seat of Druidical learning, where the probationary Priests were initiated into all the mysteries of their theology. The Romans were regardless of the sacredness of the place, and being bent upon the entire subjugation of the people to the Roman yoke, made an attack upon Mona, under the specious pretext, that it served to harbour the refractory Britains.

The Roman General Suetonius marched his troops to the banks of the Menai, where he had boats ready to convey the infantry, while the horse were to explore a ford to pass over which they effected. The landing of the Romans, struck the Islanders with amazement, and the Priests and Priestesses with consternation and horror. The Priestesses presented a most terrific sight;—their hair dishevelled;—firebrands in their hands; and with a frantic aspect, uttering such dreadful imprecations on the heads of their enemies, that for a time, the Roman soldiers were seized with a sudden panic, as if they were approaching the abodes of the infernal furies.

When the General saw the effect which the appalling scene had upon his men, he instantly turned their attention, by calling them to the charge, when they rushed with irresistable impetuosity upon all who opposed

them, mixing in one common slaughter, sacred and prophane, without any regard to sex or age.

The taking of Mona, has been considered the death-blow of Druidism; for though they had other strong holds in the most secluded mountainous parts of Cornwall, and in some of the Islands off the north-west coast, they never recovered from their overthrow at Mona. But what hastened their final extirpation was, the Romans becoming acquainted with their sanguinary custom of offering their captive enemies, in sacrifice to the demons they worshipped, that, contrary to their general practice they gave them no quarter, and, wherever they came, cut down their sacred groves and destroyed their altars. Thus the conquering Romans, in the hands of Divine Providence acted the part of pioneers, in clearing and preparing the ground for planting the *Tree of Life*, in the congenial clime of Britain.

Such being the state of the inhabitants of this country, none could stand in greater need of the light and influences of Christianity than they did, and the events recorded above, evidently paved the way for its introduction.

That the Gospel was brought into the British Isles at an early period, is stated by

many respectable writers of antiquity; but at what period, or by whom, is quite indeterminable. The most probable opinion is, that it was first brought into this country by the Christian converts in the Roman Army. We consider all the traditionary stories of St. Paul, St. Peter, Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathea, having preached in this country, to be of a piece with the piles of legendary tales manufactured in the cloisters, during the dark ages of monkish superstition.

There is an interesting account extant, of a British Prince of the name of Caractacus, who, after opposing the Roman power for nine years, and fighting hard for the independence of his country, was at last defeated by Ostorius Scapula, the Commander of the Romans in Britain. This event happened about the year, A. D. 52. After his defeat, Caractacus sought sanctuary among the Brigantes,* but was infamously betrayed into the hands of the enemy, by their Queen Cartismandua, and he, together with his family, were taken in chains to Rome, to grace the triumph of Claudius over the subjugated Britains. It is said of this Prince,

* The Brigantes occupied one of the largest divisions in the middle part of the Island, extending from sea to sea; including the principal part of the Yorkshire and Durham coast, on the east, and Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland on the west.

that when he arrived at Rome, on seeing the splendour that surrounded him he exclaimed, "Alas! how is it possible, that a people possessing such magnificence at home, could envy me an humble cottage in Britain."—On being brought before the Imperial Tribunal, he displayed that greatness of soul, which adversity with the loss of liberty and a crown could not subdue. as appears from the tenor and spirit of his speech, which was in substance as follows. When addressing the Emperor, he said, "Had my moderation been equal to my birth and fortune, I had arrived in this city, not as a captive, but as a friend. But my present misfortunes redound as much to your honour as to my disgrace; and the obstinacy of my opposition, serves to increase the splendours of your victory. Had I surrendered myself in the beginning of the contest, neither my disgrace, nor your glory, would have attracted the attention of the world, and my fate would have been buried in general oblivion. I am now at your mercy; but if my life be spared, I shall remain an eternal monument of your clemency and moderation."

This address, procured him the admiration of the Emperor and his court, so that the Prince and his family, instead of being

doomed to punishment, had their fetters taken off and their pardon publicly proclaimed. This event took place during St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, which gave Caractacus and his family, an opportunity of hearing the doctrines of Christianity from the Apostle himself, under whose ministry it is said, they were converted to the Christian faith ;—and that, on his return home, he brought with him some Christian teachers, who formed the first Christian Church in this Island.

Several antiquarians of considerable note, have asserted that Claudia, mentioned by St. Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy, was the daughter of Caractacus ;—that she was converted to Christianity by the preaching of the Apostle, and was instrumental in the conversion of her father's family, and that on their return to Britain, St. Paul sent with them Aristobulus, who became the first Bishop in this Island, to which allusion is made by Baronius, in the Greek Martyrology.

As the Romans extended their conquests in Britain, numbers of various classes of their citizens came and settled in the mumiple towns, among whom, probably, were some Christians. But at that time it was no light thing openly to profess the Christian faith ; for such was the deep-rooted en-

mity of the pagan Romans against the foreign superstition, as they termed Christianity, that neither rank nor station afforded protection to those who embraced it, as appears in the following account from Tacitus. "Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, was married to Plautius, who, for his victories gained in Britain, was honoured with an ovation, or lesser triumph. His lady was charged with having embraced a strange and foreign superstition, for which alleged crime, her trial was committed to her husband. He, agreeable to the laws and ancient forms of proceeding in such cases, convened her family and friends together, and, being in their presence, tried for her life and fame, she was pronounced innocent." The Historian further adds, "that the lady lived long after this, but in perpetual sadness;"—by which, probably, nothing more is meant, than that she abstained from the empty pomps of high life, to cherish in habits of retirement, those sentiments which it was then so dangerous to divulge.

The trial of this lady occurred according to Dr. Stillingfleet, about A. D. 57, from which the Dr. infers, that she was converted under the ministry of St. Paul, after he came to Rome.

That Christianity advanced with such tardy steps in Britain, during the Roman period, may be differently accounted for. The intercourse between different parts of the Island was exceedingly difficult, even after the Romans had completed their great roads. The jealousy of the Roman Government against a public profession of Christianity;—the deep-rooted superstition of the native Britains;—the difficulty of the Romans and British communicating their sentiments to each other, on account of their different languages, their intestine wars, and divisions among themselves, would present many serious impediments against the spread of Christianity, however zealous the men employed in its propagation.

Towards the middle of the second century, the Romans finished their great roads, and thereby opened a more easy communication between the different parts of the Island.

About this time, according to Bede, "King Lucius, wrote to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, requesting that he might be admitted into the Christian Church;—and that Christian teachers might be sent to instruct his people in the doctrines of Christianity. His pious request, (adds Bede,) was presently granted him; and the faith thus received, was maintained inviolate

among the Britains in profound peace, until the time of Dioclesian."

According to Archbishop Usher, Lucius was King of the *Brit-Walli*, or the Britains of Wales, which is very probable, as it was not till many centuries after that period, that any one Monarch reigned over all Britain, except on some particular occasion, when the rest of the Princes elected one of the most popular among themselves to act as generalissimo, during their extraordinary emergencies.

From the account given of Lucius, in the Welsh Triads, it is inferred, that he founded the first Church, or place for Christian worship, which he erected at Llandaff, and afforded legal protection to all who professed the Christian faith. Under the patronage of this excellent Prince, the religion of Jesus Christ began to emerge from that state of obscurity, under which, in this country it had long been hid, and suitable places were erected for the celebration of religious services, especially in Wales and the contiguous districts.

The absurd legendary tales, told by the Popish writers in the British Chronicle respecting this period;—of the number of temples in which Divine Worship was performed;—that the Island was divided into

twenty-eight dioceses, and three Archbishops, to whom the twenty-eight Bishops were all subject;—and the authority attributed at that early period to the Pope of Rome, shews at once where this marvellous legend was manufactured, and is only noticed here to expose its fallacy.

By a merciful Providence, the infant Church in Britain, escaped the violence of that persecution which raged so dreadfully under Dioclesian and Galerius. This was the tenth general persecution, and exceeded any former, in duration and violence; during which many suffered death, and others sought an asylum in the woods and mountains until the storm abated. Among those who suffered martyrdom, were three Roman citizens of note, as appears both from their rank in life, and zeal for religion. The name of one was Alban, a citizen of *Verolam*, which, in after ages was in honour of the martyr, called St. Alban's. The other two were Julius and Aaron, of *Isca Silurum*, or Caerleon in Monmouthshire, where, as Giraldus informs us, a Church was dedicated in honour of each of them.

Alban is said to have been a person of considerable rank, descended from Roman Ancestors, and an Officer under the Roman Government. Whilst in his heathen state,

he received into his house, a Christian teacher, who had lately come from abroad. This Christian remained for some time in the house of Alban as in a secure retreat; and by his pious conversation and devout deportment, he became instrumental in converting his host to the Christian faith. But it soon became known that Alban had secreted a Christian in his house, and officers were sent to apprehend the stranger; but the noble spirited citizen refused to deliver up his guest, and voluntarily exposed himself in his stead. Alban was forthwith taken before the judge, who at the time was engaged in celebrating some heathen rites. He was violently enraged at Alban for countenancing the cause of Christianity, and ordered him instantly to renounce that religion, and join him in performing an heathen rite;—or if he refused, he would visit him with condign punishment. Alban promptly refused to perform any divine rite to an heathen god, and boldly confessed himself to be a Christian. Orders were then given to scourge him; but his invincible fortitude could not be overcome by torture, and sentence of death was passed upon him.

Several ages after his death, when the Pope of Rome had begun to reward the advocates of papacy with canonization, that

honour was confered on Alban, as the protomartyr of Britain. There was very little in his life, on which to found his title to canonization, but what might be expected from a Roman officer;—that he would not so far violate the laws of hospitality as to betray his guest. But in order to prove that his title to be a saint was well founded, the Monks have invented a number of miracles, which they say were wrought at his death.—That the execution took place on a hill out of the town;—that the bridge over the river was too narrow to accommodate the crowds who flocked to witness the execution;—when, in answer to Alban's prayer, the waters divided for the multitude to pass through;—that the miracle so affected the executioner, that he threw away his sword, and requested that he might either die in his stead, or suffer with him;—that being thirsty with his journey up the hill, in answer to his prayer, a fountain sprung up at his feet, at which, when he had refreshed himself, it sunk back into the earth;—that the soldier who refused to perform his office upon Alban, was himself condemned to death, and he who executed the sentence, was struck with blindness.

We only notice such fictitious tales in order to shew what gross absurdities are imposed

upon the deluded devotees of the corrupt Church of Rome, who are compelled to receive without examination, however repugnant to common sense and reason, whatever is foisted upon them by the priests of that Church, who have inflicted the severest pains and penalties, on those who questioned her boasted claims to infallibility.

The violent storm of persecution, which raged with unabated fury against the Christians, during the reigns of Dioclesion and Galerious, was hushed into a calm when the purple was assumed by Constantine; who, before he professed himself a Christian, allowed them the free exercise of their religion.

Under his reign, the Churches in Britain began to rise in importance and influence, as may be infered from the circumstance, that at the council held at Arles, in the year A. D. 314, there were present, three Bishops from the British Churches, whose names are subscribed to the acts of that council.

But the sunshine of royal favour is not always productive of spiritual growth in the Church of Christ. Its steps may be traced by the erection and decoration of costly buildings, and the ministers loaded with large revenues, when among them may be found but few of those *lively stones*, of which

is composed, that *spiritual house,—'an habitation of God through the spirit.'*

About the close of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth, gave birth to the Pelagian heresy, the poison of which was rapidly disseminated through both the eastern and western Churches.

That Pelagius was by birth a Briton, is generally agreed upon by all the writers of antiquity, who believe that his real name was Morgan; he was born Nov. 13th, A.D. 354, the same day with his great antagonist St. Augustine. He was joined in publishing his opinions by one Celestius, who was convicted at the council of Carthage, of holding, and teaching the following:—

1. "That Adam was created mortal; and that, whether he had sinned or continued innocent, he would have been subject to death.

2. "That the sin of Adam affected himself only, and not his posterity.

3. "That men might be saved as well by the laws, as by the gospel.

4. "That previous to the coming of Christ, men were without sin.

5. "That new-born infants are in the same state as Adam was before the fall.

6. "That it is not owing to the sin of Adam that all mankind are subject to death; nor

is it through the resurrection of Christ, that all men shall rise again.

7. "That it is possible for man to live without sin, and keep the commands of God, and that without Divine grace. To the above as taught by Celestius, the following also were held by Pelagius.

8. "That rich men cannot enter into heaven unless they part with all their estates.

9. "The grace of God is not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will, and information in point of duty, being sufficient for that purpose.

10. "The grace of God is given in proportion to our merits.

11. "None can be called the sons of God, but those who are perfectly free from sin.

12. "Our victory over temptation, is not gained by God's assistance, but by the liberty of the will."

Such were the tenets held by Pelagius and his followers; and must be considered as utterly subversive of the doctrines of Christianity. These doctrines were warmly opposed by Augustine, who in defending the necessity of Divine grace, ran into the high predestinarian scheme. Thus whilst Pelagius erred in attributing too much to the powers of human reason, and the free agency of man;—Augustine went to the opposite

extreme; that of fatal necessity, arising from the decrees of God with respect to man's salvation.

This controversy has given rise to many unfair and unchristian attempts to confound Arminianism with Pelagianism; for we find even in modern times, that those who oppose St. Augustine's doctrine of Predestination, are charged with the Pelagian heresy.

The history of the British Churches during the Roman period, is very barren of biographical information. This is easily accounted for, there being few, or none of the writings of these ancient Fathers of the British Churches now extant. Among the few names that have escaped the obliterating hand of corroding time, is that of St. Ninian; who was a Briton of noble birth, and excellent genius. After he had finished his studies at home, he spent several years abroad for further improvement. After his return to Britain, he spent his life in preaching the gospel in the most uncultivated parts in the north, among the Scots and Picts, with equal zeal and success.

That eminent Apostle of the Irish, St. Patrick, was also a Briton of a good family and ingenious mind. Having received the first part of his education at home, he went to finish his studies under the celebrated St.

Germanus, bishop of Arles. From thence he went to Rome, where his learning and piety, procured him the esteem and friendship of Cœlestine, then bishop of that city, who advised him to employ his talents in attempting to civilize and evangelize the people of Ireland. Paterick cheerfully undertook the arduous task, though well acquainted with the ignorance and barbarity of the people; having in his youth been carried by Pirates into Ireland, where he spent some years. To this work he devoted the remaining part of his life, where his pious and indefatigable labours were crowned with great success.

One of the brightest luminaries of the Church, and successful missionaries of the sixth century, was Columba; who is justly styled the Apostle of the Highlands of Scotland, and the founder of the college of Iona. Columba was born A. D. 521, and educated by *Gemman;* under whom he made great proficiency in sacred literature. Having experienced the hallowing influence of Christian charity in his own breast, and commisserating the state of those who were still in heathen darkness, he resolved to attempt the conversion of the heathens in the Highlands of Scotland.

In the year A. D. 563, Columba, accompanied by twelve of his companions, left the coast of Ireland in a wicker boat covered with hides, and landed at Hii. or Hiona, an island on the northwest coast of Scotland. He made choice of this island as a place of residence on account of its contiguity with Ireland, as he continued to take a principal part in managing the concerns of that Churh. Columba found the northern Picts in so barbarous and savage a state, that regardless of the sanctity of his character, several attempts were made upon his life; and the king, not more civilized than his subjects, ordered his gate to be shut when the holy man first approached it. Deep-rooted as were their attachment to heathenism and enmity to Christianity, Columba did not lower the tone of the Gospel precepts, or append to it any of their heathen rites in order to render it less objectionable, but whilst faithfully preaching the plain precepts of Christianity to them, he imposed upon himself the most rigid self denial, without any of those unscriptural and absurd rites, which were afterwards introduced by the Church of Rome.

The monastery which Columba founded at Iona, became the chief seat of learning at that time in Europe. His biographer, Dr.

Smith, informs us that above three hnndred Churches were established by him and his monks, all of which were supplied with learned and able pastors from his college at Iona, besides supplying numbers of Churches and Monastries in the neighbouring nations. Thus says the Dr. "He kindled a light which shone in a dark place for many generations; and by its kindly beams, cherished the seed which he had sown, and brought it forward to an abundant harvest." He was a man of strong faith and fervent prayer, accompanied with deep study of the Holy Scriptures, in transcribing copies of which he was engaged to the day of his death.

To promote the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom, was a primary object in the life of this holy man; and in his death was verified what the Psalmist observes, "*Mark the perfect* man, *and behold the upright; for the end of that* man *is peace.*" He departed this life in the 77th year of his age, A. D. 598, "before he had lost the vigor of his faculties, or his bodily force was abated, he breathed his spirit into his Redeemer's hands. bowing to the stroke of death in the Church, before the alter, when the midnight vigils were about to commence."*

* Horæ Brit.

CHAPTER II.

The decline of the Roman power in Britain.—The expeditions of Maximus, and Constantine.—Public debate between Germanus, and the Pelagians at St. Albans.—The Haleluiah victory.—Arrival of the Saxons under Hengist.—The establishment of the kingdom of Kent.—Ida lands in Northumberland and establishes that kingdom.—Distressed state of the British Churches.—The idolatry of the Saxons.—State of Christianity in Wales and Cornwall.—Several British synods.—Cherebert, King of Kent, married to Birtha, daughter of the King of France, who brought Bishop Luidhart with her.—Anecdote of Gregory and the British youths.—Augustine and his monks arrive at Canterbury.—Gregory's advice on founding the British Churches.—Augustine held a conference with the Welsh Clergy, who rejected him.—The slaughter of the monks at Bangor.

THE wealth and strength of Britain, was rapidly declining for about fifty years, before it was evacuated by the Romans. This was occasioned, partly by the irruptions of the Scots and Picts in the north, and the depredations of the Saxons in the south; who, as far as they penetrated into the country, destroyed every thing they could not carry off. But what completed the ruin of Britain was, the unfortunate expeditions of Maximus and

Constantine, the two usurpers. In the year A. D. 383, Maximus sailed to the continent with a numerous army, in which were the flower of the British youth, and immense sums of money, to claim his pretentions to the Imperial throne;—and in A. D. 408, Constantine fitted out an expedition for the same purpose, in which he was joined by most of the wealthy Romans, who carried off all their valuables with an intention of never returning; as they now saw the country left in such a defenceless state, that it could no longer afford protection to either their persons or property.

The Roman army having left the shores of Britain, the Scots and Picts, who had long looked with insatiable desire towards the fruitful fields in south Britain, now considered it an easy prey, and like a desolating flood, poured in their hordes of savage marauders, under whose cruel barbarities the country groaned for many years.

The oppressed Britains applied to Rome for protection, but such were the affairs of the empire, that no efficient help could be afforded. After numerous delays a detachment of Roman troops arrived, who soon drove the depredators back to their mountains; but the disordered state of the empire through the rival interests of ambitious as-

pirers to the purple; and the invasion of Italy by the Goths, led to the recalling the Roman troops from Britain, and before the death of the Emperor Honorius, which happened A. D. 423, the Romans had entirely abandoned the island, and left the Britons to their fate.

Whilst the northern barbarians were overrunning the country with their desolating hordes, bearing down all before them with irresistable fury, and horrifying the defenceless Britons with their brutal conduct.—Agricola, the son of Severianus, a bishop of Gaul, was zealously and successfully infusing the pestilential infection of Pelagianism through the British Churches.

The faithful among the British Christians felt their own inability, to confute the subtle arguments of the Pelagian abettors; and therefore sought assistance from the Gallican bishops. In consequence of their applicatian a synod was convened in Gaul, to enquire who were the most proper persons to undertake the important mission; when Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, were unanimously chosen. These holy men, sanctioned and set apart for the work by the prayers of the Church, arrived in Britain, A. D. 429. These pious bishops, and *able ministers of the new tes-*

tament, met with the most cordial reception from the orthodox Christians of the British Churches, who daily flocked in crowds to hear them; not only in the Churches, but in the streets, lanes and villages, so eager were they to hear the unsophisticated truths of the gospel; whilst the propagators of the Pelagian heresy, retired for a time to effect their purpose by working in secret.

After taking due time for deliberation, lest their silence should condemn their doctrines, they offered to defend their sentiments in a public dispute with the bishops, which, as it is related, was held at St. Albans. On the appointed day, an immense multitude of people assembled at the place, where they at once became the spectators and judges. The narrator informs us, that "the bishops gave their opponents the opportunity of first addressing the people, who occupied much time with their long empty harangues:—that the venerable prelates poured forth torrents of eloquence, accompanied with the thunder of the Apostles and Evangelists. Their own words were mingled with the word of God, and their strongest assertions were corroborated by the testimony of Scripture." To the Scriptural arguments advanced by the bishops, the Pelagian advocates attempted no reply, from which the people

were satisfied that their ground was untenable, and expressed their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations.

These apostolic men, did not consider the object of their mission accomplished in having put them to silence at one place, but they travelled through different parts of the land, instructing and confirming the Churches in the true faith of the Gospel. The following remarkable circumstance which is said to have taken place at that time, is related on the authority of the venerable Bede.

Whilst Germanus, and the British Christians were preparing to celebrate the feast of Easter, they were apprised of a large body of the Scots and Picts that were coming upon them, intending to take advantage of their being unprepared to offer resistance. Germanus put himself at the head of a select company, in a narrow place surrounded by rocks and hills; and having given proper instructions how to act, they there waited the approach of the enemy, who were rapidly advancing with all the confidence of success. Having approached to within a short distance, the prelates repeated aloud three times, *Haleluiah*, in which they were joined by the united voices of the people, whilst the rocks and hills reverberated back

the sacred sound of Haleluiah. The scheme produced the desired effect;—the enemy as if they were panic-struck, threw down their arms and fled in the greatest confusion, to escape being buried under the rocks and mountains, which, to their frighted imagination, were just ready to fall upon them.

Hughes, in his Horæ Britannicæ, fixes the scene of these transactions near Mold, a town in North Wales, about twelve miles from the city of Chester; where "a gentleman, who owned that place and estate in the last century, set up an elegant obelisk in view of the town, to commemorate what is called the *Haleluiah victory*."*

Before his departure Germanus established schools, and appointed pastors to several of the Churches, and furnished them with proper forms of devotion, according to the usage of the Gallican Church; and which are in great part retained to the present age, in the Liturgy of the established Church of England:—a circumstance which should be remembered by those who would attribute all forms of prayer to a Popish origin, that the British Churches used a form before Popery had a being.

It was during these turbulent times, that places of retirement were first founded, for

* Horæ Britannicæ, page 163.

the purpose of affording protection to the weak and aged, from the assaults of the hordes of marauders that infested the country; and where the devout might the more peaceably pursue their devotions, and prepare for a better world.

The divided, feeble, and disheartened state in which the Britons were after the removal of the Roman troops;—and the distresses experienced by the frequent and desolating irruptions of the northern barbarians; the line and extent of whose conquests might be traced by an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, and the pillaging and destruction of the Churches, which were the chief monuments of Roman elegance and beauty;—which led them to invite over the Saxons to their assistance. Such an impolitic measure might have been prevented, if the British Princes had had confidence in each other, and joined their united forces against the common foe. But rival jealousy would prompt one Prince rather to rejoice in the encroachments made upon his neighbour, without considering, that every advantage gained by their common enemy, brought ruin so much nearer to his own door.

The arrival of the Saxons in Britain, is differently accounted for by the historians who have written on that subject. Some

represent them as being exiled from their own country by a domestic law, which enacted, that when the population became too great, their youths should decide by lot which should emigrate to other less populous countries :—that the lot had fallen on Hengist and his companions, who came to seek a settlement on the coast of Britain. Others state, that they were invited over to assist the British in expelling their northern invaders. They all agree that they landed in the year A. D. 449, and that the Isle of Thanet was the place assigned them. At the first the Saxons assisted the Britons to expel the Picts and Scots, who had pushed on their destructive ravages as far south, as Stamford ; near which a bloody battle was fought. The Saxons perceiving the imbecility of the Britons, as the effect of Roman slavery, they resolved to attempt the conquest of the country they were engaged to protect. To accomplish his design, Hengist proposed sending for a reinforcement of his countrymen, as a further security against their enemies, to which the unsuspecting Britons readily consented, and the Saxon power was augmented by five thousand warriors, and a fleet of seventeen ships.

The Saxon chieftains, finding themselves at the head of a powerful army, concluded a

separate peace with the Picts, and began to quarrel with the British about their provisions and promised rewards, and threatened to do themselves justice by force of arms. These demands were followed by a long and cruel war, between the Saxons and British, in which many battles were fought, and much blood was spilt on both sides. In one of these engagements, the Saxon chief Horsa was slain, but the victory over the British was complete, and left Hengist in possession of all Kent, over which he assumed the title of King. Thus was founded the first Saxon Kingdom in this Island, that of Kent, by Hengist and his followers in the year A. D. 457. The establishment of Hengist in the Kingdom of Kent, was to the unhappy Britons, the beginning of their sorrows.

To strengthen the Saxon interest, Hengist invited over a number of his friends, who arrived on the coast of Northumberland with a fleet of forty sail, and made good their landing with little or no opposition, and were soon in possession of all the country between the two Roman walls, which for a number of years became subject to the Kingdom of Kent.

After a reign of thirty-one years, a great part of which had been spent in war, Hen-

gist ended his life and reign A. D. 488, and was succeeded by his son Æsc; in whose reign nothing transpired to interrupt the peace of his kingdom. He died A. D. 512, and left his kingdom in peace to his son Octo. This Prince was less prosperous than his father had been, for in his reign the countries of Essex, and Middlesex, were taken from him by the East Saxons. He died A.D. 534. Octo was succeeded by his son Hermenric, whose reign furnishes nothing worth recording here, only, he was the father of Ethelbert, who succeeded him to the throne of Kent; whose long and prosperous reign is immediately connected with the introduction of Christianity among the Pagan Saxons.

It does not enter into the plan of our work, to trace the establishment of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy; that belongs more properly to the civil historian, but we shall notice a few of the successions in Kent, and Northumbria, for the purpose of giving dates to several important events connected with the introduction of Christianity.

The Saxons who landed in Northumberland about the year A. D. 457, continued in an unsettled, predatory state, surrounded by enemies on every side, until the arrival of Ida, who came from the German coast with a fleet of fifty ships, and landed at

Flamborough, A. D. 547. Ida was a Prince of great prudence and valour; he founded the kingdom of Bernicia, which included Northumberland, Merse, and the three Lothians, or the whole eastern coast of the ancient Roman province of Valentia. The castle at Bamborough was built by Ida, which he made the capital of his kingdom.

Ælla, another Saxon chieftan, having subdued all the country between the Humber and the Tyne, founded the kingom of Deira. These two kingdoms were united by Ethelfrid, the grandson of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ælla; and having expelled her brother Edwin the kingdom of Bernicia, added those territories to his own, and thereby founded the powerful kingdom of Northumbria; which completed the establishment of the seven Saxon kingdoms, commonly called the Heptarchy, founded in that part of Britain which has long been called England, from the Angles, which were the most numerous and powerful tribe of the Saxons.

The establishment of the Saxons in Britain, proved fatal to the interests of the Christain religion. The Churches, and other religious houses, were plundered and demolished;--the ministers and teachers were murdered, or banished from the land, and

in a short time, every vestage of Christianity was swept away as with a desolating flood; and in its stead was established an idolatrous worship of the most debasing character, of which the following is a brief outline:—

They believed in a number of gods; these were chiefly deified heroes:—they held the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; a state of rewards and punishments after death; but rejected the Druidical doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as an absurd fiction. The place of rewards they call *Valhalla*, where the heroes spend the day in martial sports, and the night in feasting on the flesh of the boar scrimner, and drinking large draughts of beer or mead, out of the sculls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle, presented to them by beautiful virgins, who waited upon them at table. The place of punishment they called Niflheim, or, *the abode of Evil*, where Hela dwelt, whose palace was *Anguish*, her table *Famine*, her waiters *Expectation* and *Delay;* the threshhold of her door *Precipice*, her bed *leanness*, and her looks struck *Terror* into all beholders.* In this place all cowards and bad men were to reside to the end of this world, when the heavens and the earth, and even the gods themselves, were to be consumed

* Mallet Introduct. extr. Henry, vol. 3, page 174.

by fire. After this general conflagration, a new world would arise, when the heroes and all good men would be admitted into Gimle, a palace built of shining gold, far more beautiful than Valhalla: and cowards, assassins, false swearers, and adulterers, were to be confined in Nastrande, a palace built of the carcases of serpents, and far more dismal than Niflheim. Their moral precepts were three:—to worship the gods,—to do no wrong,—to fight bravely in battle.

Their most renowned deity was Odin, which name it is believed, was at the first given by them to the one true God; but at length the leader of a large army of adventurers, which over-run the north of Europe, assumed the name of Odin, and claimed the honours which had been paid to that deity, so that Odin, or Wodin, a deified hero, became the chief object of idolatrous worship among the Saxons. To him they ascribed all the attributes of the true God, built magnificent temples, offered many sacrifices, and consecrated the fourth day of the week, which is still called by his name in England, and all the other countries where he was formerly worshipped.

Next to Odin, was Frea, or Frigga, his wife: she was esteemed the most revered divinity among the Saxons, to whom the

sixth day of the week was consecrated, which still bears her name. As Odin was believed to be the father, Frea was esteemed the mother of all the other gods. She was worshipped as the goddess of love and pleasure, who bestowed on her votaries a variety of delights, particularly happy marriages, and easy child-births.

Thor was the eldest and bravest of the sons of Odin and Frea, and next to his parents, the greatest god of the heathen Saxons. They believed that Thor reigned over all the aërial regions, which composed his immense palace, consisting of five hundred and forty halls;—that he launched the thunder, pointed the lightning, and directed the meteors, winds, and storms. To him they addressed their prayers for favourable winds, refreshing rains, and fruitful seasons; —to him was consecrated the fifth day of the week, which still bears his name.

Besides their three great Divinities, the Saxons had an almost endless number of inferior gods and goddesses, to whom they paid some kind of religious worship. Balder, the second son of Odin and Frea, was the god of light; Niord, the god of waters; Tyr, the god of champions; Brage, the god of oraters and poets; and Heindal was the door-keeper of the gods, and the guardian

of the rainbow. *Loke*, a malevolent, cunning, and powerful spirit, was by some esteemed a god, by others an enemy both to gods and men; by all, an object of many superstitious terrors. Odin and Frea, had eleven daughters, who were all goddessess. namely: Eira, the goddess of medicine; Gefione, of virginity; Fulla, of dress; Freya, of true love; Lofna, of reconciliation; Vara, of vows; Snotra, of good manners; Gna, the messenger of Frea, &c. &c. In short, the sun, moon, stars, air, earth, sea, rivers, lakes, woods, mountains, &c. were inhabited and ruled by certain genii, who were capable of doing much good or much hurt to mankind; and on that account were entitled to some degree of veneration. The acts of worship paid to these deities were four: praise and thanksgiving,—prayers and supplications,— offerings and sacrifices,— incantations and rites of divination. Their prayers were directed to Odin, for victory in battle;—to Frigga, for success in love and courtship;—to Thor, to avert his thunder bolts from themselves, and point them against their enemies;—to Niord, for prosperous voyages and success in fishing;—to Freya, for favourable seasons and plentiful crops, &c.

To induce their deities to be propitious to their prayers, they often accompanied them with a profusion of offerings and sacrifices, as directed by their Priests. To Odin, they were taught to sacrifice horses, dogs, and falcons, and on some occasions cocks, and a fat bull, being all brave and fierce animals; —to Frigga, the largest hogs;—and to Thor, fat oxen and horses. These victims were slain at the altar, their blood was received into a vessel prepared for the purpose, and part of it sprinkled on the assembly;—the intrails were inspected by the Priests, to discover the will of the gods;—part of the flesh was burnt on the altar, and on the rest the Priests and people feasted. In times of famine, or other national calamities, they offered human sacrifices, believing them to be most acceptable to their gods. These unhappy victims were generally chosen from among criminals, captives, or slaves, but on some pressing occasions, persons of the highest dignity were not spared.

The worship of such vain and imaginary deities, with all their sanguinary and dissolute rites, were established in those places where the pure precepts of Christianity had been preached by the first missionaries.

The pagan Saxons were not only ignorant of, but entertained an inveterate hatred against Christianity, as appears by their murdering



t. Thelean, Bishop of Landaff; Bishop of Menevia, &c. &c. . . itish synods were assembled in but very few of their transactions l us;—from those that have we hey were mixed assemblies, for he civil as well as ecclesiastical in the one held A. D. 465, King was dethroned, and Ambrosius in his stead, which would not done, had not the synod been the principal civil, as well as personages. In another, held Dubritus was translated from Caerleon, and St. Thelean ap- op of Landaff in his room. In A. D. 516, King Arthur was his uncle St. David, appointed f Caerleon, who removed the e to Menevia, which was after- him, called St. David's. Se- nods were held by the British he particulars of which we refer Spelman. Concil. vol 1. vide. vol. 3. Art. Relig.

urse between the British and hurches being nearly, if not ff; the light of Christianity ne, continued to emit a few ys, on the thick clouds of sur-

the Christian Clergy without mercy, and destroying the churches whenever they fell into their hands.* Their enmity was the more inflamed, by the long and bloody contests with the Britons who were Christians.

Whilst the Saxons were spreading their conquests through the British states, and endeavouring to extirpate the very name and remembrance of Christianity; the churches of Christ were not only kept in existence, but flourished to a considerable extent both in Wales and Cornwall; among whom were found several distinguished characters.—Among the most interesting of those characters, were Dubritus, and Iltutus. Dubritus was first Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards Archbishop of Caerleon; and had the chief direction of two schools for the education of young men for the Christian Ministry.—Iltutus presided over a noted seminary of learning at a place which, from him, is still called *Lantuet*, or *the Church of Iltut*, in Glamorganshire. In these academies were educated many excellent men, who filled important offices in the church both at home and abroad; among whom were Sampson, Archbishop of Dol, in Bretagne;—St. Magloire, his successor in that see;—Maclovius, Bishop of St. Malo;—Daniel, Bishop of

* Bede His. Eccles. l. 1. c. 15.

Bangor;—St. Thelean, Bishop of Landaff; St. David, Bishop of Menevia, &c. &c.

Several British synods were assembled in this period, but very few of their transactions have reached us;—from those that have we infer, that they were mixed assemblies, for regulating the civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs; for in the one held A. D. 465, King Vortigern was dethroned, and Ambrosius elected King in his stead, which would not have been done, had not the synod been composed of the principal civil, as well as ecclesiastical personages. In another, held A. D. 512, Dubritus was translated from Landaff to Caerleon, and St. Thelean appointed Bishop of Landaff in his room. In a third held A. D. 516, King Arthur was crowned, and his uncle St. David, appointed Archbishop of Caerleon, who removed the seat of his see to Menevia, which was afterwards, from him, called St. David's. Several other synods were held by the British Clergy, for the particulars of which we refer the reader to Spelman. Concil. vol 1. vide. Henry Hist. vol. 3. Art. Relig.

All intercourse between the British and Continental Churches being nearly, if not entirely cut off; the light of Christianity which for a time, continued to emit a few glimmering rays, on the thick clouds of sur-

rounding darkness, appears to have been quite extinct in all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, before the marriage of Ethelbert, King of Kent, with Birtha daughter of Cherebert, King of Paris, A. D. 570. This Princess was a learned, pious, and zealous Christian, and would only consent to her marriage with Ethelbert, on condition of having the free exercise of the Christian religion secured to her, by an article in the marriage contract.

The Queen brought over with her a venerable Bishop named Luidhart, with other Clergymen, who performed all the rites of the Christian worship, in a small church without the walls of Canterbury.

These Christian Ministers, by their exemplary lives and faithful ministry, were instrumental in the conversion of some to Christianity, and a favourable feeling began to be cherished by Ethelbert, and several of the principal persons about his court, towards the Christian religion, so that they became very desirous of being better instructed in its principles. Every thing now seemed favourable for the spread of Christianity through the kingdom; the good Bishop therefore, supported by the King and his pious Queen, made application to the French Bishops for a number of Ministers to be

sent over to their assistance, but whether through want of zeal or some other cause, no supply was sent.

Being disappointed in their application to France, providence sent them a supply from Rome. The following circumstances are related by the venerable Bede. The Saxon Princes sent great numbers of the British youths to Rome, to be sold for slaves. Before Gregory the Great was raised to the papal chair, he was one day passing through the streets of Rome, where a slave-merchant was exposing some beautiful youths for sale. Being struck with their appearance, he inquired from what country they were brought, and was informed that they came from the isle of Britain. Finding upon further inquiry that they were heathen, he exclaimed with a deep sigh, What a pity, that men of so fair a complexion, should be subject to the Prince of darkness! He then inquired what was the name given to the people of their country? and was informed that they were called Angli; upon which Gregory remarked, they were rightly called Angli, for they were beautiful as (angeli) angels, and, therefore it was fit they should become the companions of angels in heaven. He then asked the name of the province from which they were brought, and was told that its name

was Deira, (the southern part of the kingdom of Northumbria.) Gregory said it was so called because they were to be delivered (De irá Dei) from the wrath of God. He then asked what was the name of their King? and being told it was *Ella*, then said he, it is fit that *Halleluia* should be sung in that land. Such was the interest Gregory felt for the conversion of the British, that he applied to the Pope for permission to establish a mission among them, to which the Pope gave his consent, but so highly was Gregory esteemed by the citizens of Rome, that the people would not allow him to leave, and the Pope had to recall him back to Rome, after he had proceeded three days on his journey. Gregory still retained his feelings in favour of the mission to Britain, after he was raised to the pontificate; and immediately attended to the application made by the British to Rome for Christian Ministers, after being disappointed of a supply from France. He sent at the head of this mission, Austin, or Augustine, a monk of the convent of St. Andrew's at Rome, and about forty other monks along with him. He gave them recommendatory letters to the King, Queen, and several of the Bishops in France, who furnished them with every thing necessary for their journey; and interpreters who un-

derstood the language of the Anglo-Saxons, which was then nearly the same with that of the Franks. Under such auspicious circumstances, Augustine and his numerous companions landed in the Isle of Thanet, A. D. 596 or 597. Augustine sent one of his interpreters to inform King Ethelbert of their arrival, who soon after gave them an audience in the open air. They were then permitted to open their commission before the King and his attendants, on the nature of the Christian religion, and when the discourse was finished, the King replied to the following effect. "These are fine words and promises which you offer; but because they are new and uncertain, I cannot give my consent to them, and forsake those customs which I and my people have so long observed. But as you are strangers come from far, and profess a desire to communicate to us what yourselves believe to be true, and conducive to our benefit, you shall not be molested, but have suitable provision made for your subsistence: nor do we prohibit you from gaining as many proselytes as you can to your religion."*

The King having given them his royal license, appointed them a residence in that part of the ancient Dorovernum, or the mo-

* Horæ Brit. p. 254.

dern Canterbury, which is now called Stable Gate, were there was an old Church which had been used by the ancient British Christians. These Christian Missionaries entered the city of Canterbury in solemn procession, carrying before them the picture of Christ, and a silver cross, and singing the following hymn: "We beseech thee, O Lord! of thy mercy let thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from thy holy place; for we have sinned. Hallelujah." Having taken possession of the place assigned by the King for their residence, they commenced the work of their mission, and in a short time were found among the fruits of their labours, the King and a number of his nobles converted to the Christian faith. Their missionary field was for a time, limited to the precincts of the city, but when it became generally known that the King had professed the Christian faith, they found the people ready to receive them in every place, and such was the eagerness of the people for Christian baptism, that it is said Augustine baptised in one day, ten thousand persons in a small river near the mouth of the Medway.

It appears that the Pope had consecrated Augustine Bishop of Kent, before he left Rome, and now seeing the favourable aspect of his mission, he took a journey into

France, and was there, by the Archbishop of Arles, consecrated Archbishop of the English, hoping that this new dignity would give additional influence to his exhortations.* The King also loaded Augustine and his friends, with every mark of royal favour suited to their several functions, and made the city of Canterbury a metropolitan see;—he also founded the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards called St. Augustine's, and since converted into the Archbishop's palace.

Augustine, finding his affairs in so prosperous a state, sent two of his companions to Rome to acquaint Gregory with his success; by whom he sent several questions in writing, to which he requested answers for the regulation of his future conduct. Some of the questions proposed to Gregory, and his answers, are of too trifling a nature, and others too indelicate to be transcribed; however, his letter is important in one respect; it clearly proves that Gregory assumed none of that exorbitant and blasphemous power, which, in after ages, was claimed by his successors in the see of Rome.

The first of those questions related to the duties of the episcopal office; the distribution of the public offerings, and the application of the Church revenues. In answer to the last Gregory states, that *one-fourth*

* Vide Hen. Hist. vol. 3. p. 193.

should be applied to the private use of the Bishop and the support of his family ;—*one-fourth* for the maintenance of the Clergy;—*one-fourth* for the relief of the poor ;—and *one-fourth* for the repairing of Churches. He further states, "That if there were any clerks (clerici) not received into holy orders, who could not live continently, that they might take wives, and receive their stipends from abroad." One piece of prudential advice which Gregory gave to Augustine was, not to destroy the Heathen temples of the Saxons, but only to remove the images of their gods; —to wash the walls with holy water, to erect altars, and deposit relics in them, and so convert them into Christian Churches; not only to save the expence of building new ones, but that the people might be more easily prevailed upon to attend at those places of worship to which they had been accustomed. He advises him further, to accommodate the ceremonies of the Christian worship, as much as possible, to those of the Heathen, that the people might not be much startled at the change; and in particular, he advises him to allow the Christian converts, on certain festivals, to kill and eat a great number of oxen to the glory of God, as they had formerly done to the honor of the devil.*

* Bede Hist. c. 30. vide Hen. Hist. vol. 3. p. 194.

On the above advice, Dr. Henry remarks, "these admonitions, which were but too well observed, introduced the grossest corruptions into the Christian worship, and shew how much the Apostles of the sixth and seventh centuries, had departed from the simplicity and sincerity of those of the first."

Augustine, in his epistles to Gregory, represented the state of the British Church in such glowing colours, that the Pope sent several other ecclesiastics to his assistance, among whom were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinus; who brought with them sacred vessels and vestments for altars;—ornaments for Churches;—vestments for Priests and Clerks;—relics of the holy Apostles and Martyrs; besides a number of books.* At the same time Gregory honoured Augustine with the use of the pall,† worn by metropo-

* These books consisted of a beautiful Bible, two Psalters, two copies of the Four Gospels, Martyrologies and Missals.
Dr Townley's Bibl. Anecd.

† The pall, as worn by the Archbishops in the Romish Church, was a piece of fine white woollen cloth, made in the form of a sash, and to give it the greater sanctity, it was sprinkled with holy water, and laid on the altar of Saint Peter's Church one whole night, and a number of prayers repeated over it. Being thus duly prepared, it was sent to the new appointed Archbishop, who had to pay for it a considerable sum of money. The pall gave a sanction to all the decrees of the Archbishops, so far as they kept on good terms with the see of Rome; and the Bishops of the province, who refused to treat it with the most submissive respect, were to be excommunicated, and their churches laid under an interdict.—That is, all their people were to be deprived of the benefit of the divine service, and such as died were denied Christian burial.—

litans, for the solemnization of the *mass*. He is ordered to ordain twelve Bishops to be under his jurisdiction; and that the Bishop of London should, in after ages, be consecrated by his own synod, and receive the honour of the pall from the Holy and Apostolic see.

He was also recommended to send a Bishop to the city of York; and if the surrounding country should be disposed to embrace Christianity, that Bishop should ordain twelve Bishops under his jurisdiction, over whom he was to be Metropolitan, yet, subject to Augustine himself, but not to his successors after him. "Let your fraternity," he adds, "have the pre-eminence, not only over those bishops whom you shall ordain, and those whom the Bishop of York shall ordain, but also over all the Priests of Britain."

Augustine appears to have been naturally of a vain aspiring mind, and those marks of distinction which he received from Rome, seem to have elated him almost above measure.

In virtue of the Pope having appointed him Metropolitan over all the British Churches,

The policy of the Pope had made the pall of such importance, that without it no Archbishop could exercise the duties of his office; consequently, the sale of them brought an immense revenue into the papal treasury.

he claimed a jurisdiction over the Churches of Wales, and laboured hard to have it acknowledged. He accordingly summoned the Welsh Clergy to hold a conference with him on the borders of the West Saxons. At this conference, Augustine required them to lay aside those ecclesiastical usages of theirs, which were contrary to the practice of the Romish Church; such as the keeping the feast of Easter, and the manner of administering baptism; and join the Roman Clergy in preaching to the English, and he would bear with them in other things. But the Welsh Clergy were not disposed to accede to his propositions, being warmly attached to their own ancient customs, and deferred giving any positive reply, until a fuller assembly than the present should be convened. At the second conference, several Bishops attended, and many Monks from the Monastery of Bangor, under the direction of their Abbott Dinoth. Previous to the second conference with Augustine, they consulted an aged Anchorite, who was much esteemed for his wisdom and sanctity, whether it would be proper for them to give up their ancient customs and privileges to the pretentions of Augustine?

The reply of the Anchorite was in substance as follows:—"If he be a man of God

and bears the yoke of Christ himself, follow him, for he will impose no other upon you." But how, inquired they, are we to ascertain this? He replied, "Let Augustine and his brethren be first seated in the place of meeting; and if upon your entrance he rises up to salute you, receive him as a servant of God. If on the contrary, he treat you with scorn, and rises not up to salute you, seeing you are the greater number, then let him be despised by you." The Welsh Ministers went to the conference, resolving to act upon the advice of the Anchorite. When the Welsh Bishops and Monks entered the place, Augustine, who had taken the chair, received them sitting. When they perceived the pride of the haughty prelate, they refused to comply with any of his proposals, and thereby disclaimed all subjection to the see of Canterbury, and virtually to that of Rome.

In a British manuscript, examined by Sir Henry Spelman, it is related, that the Abbott of Bangor, in the name of the British Churches, declared that they owed the subjection of brotherly kindness aud charity to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to all Christians: but other obedience than that they did not know to be due to him whom they called Pope; and, for their parts, they were under the jurisdiction

of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was, under God, their spiritual overseer and director.*

Meeting with such unexpected firmness in the Welsh Clergy, put this meek Apostle into such a violent passion, that he broke up the assembly by denouncing upon them the following sentence: "if you will not accept of peace with your brethren, receive war from your enemies;—if ye will not preach the way of life to the English, suffer death from their hands." The event corresponded with the menace, which led Bishop Goodwin to exclaim, "Excellent prophet! who could predict what he knew so well how to accomplish." The disappointed prelate related to his protector King Ethelbert, the treatment his proposals met with from the Welsh Clergy, who, though not willing to make war with the Cambro Britons himself, instigated Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, to march an army into the territory of Brochmael, Prince of Powys, within whose dominion the conference had been held.

The furious King Ethelfrith, was advancing towards the Dee at the head of a numerous army; when the Ecclesiastics, remembering the threats of Augustine, fled for protection to Prince Brochmael, who had

* Vide Horæ Brit. p. 268.

collected his forces together at Chester, but his small army was soon overpowered by the superior number of the Northumbrians, and the poor Monks were left in a defenceless state.

This pagan King seeing a number of persons of a singular appearance, and without arms, inquired who they were; and on being informed that they were engaged in praying for the success of their countrymen, he said, "If they cry to their God against us, they fight against us with their prayers," and then unmercifully ordered his men to fall upon them; and it is said, that out of twelve hundred, only about fifty escaped slaughter from their ruthless hands, but it is probable the number was not so great, as the Saxon annals state them at two hundred.

The Monastery of Bangor, which was the largest establishment of the kind in Britain, containing, as it is said, accommodations for two thousand Monks, fell into the hands of the Saxon barbarians, who left it a vast pile of shapeless ruins. This event took place about the year A. D. 603.

CHAPTER III.

Edwin when an infant taken into Wales to avoid being murdered.—Ethelfrith slain in battle, and Edwin restored to his kingdom.—Marries Ethelburga, who took Paulinus as her Chaplin.—Edwin narrowly escapes the sword of an assassin.—Is baptized at York.—Spread of Christianity by Paulinus.—Death of Edwin.—Paulinus returns into Kent.—King Oswald sends for Bishop Aidan.—Death of Oswald.—Bernius preaches to the West Saxons.—Oswy ascends the Northumbrian throne.—Penday slain, and his army rooted near Leeds.—Chud, or Cedd, sent to the East Saxons.—His death.—St. Bega.—Lady Hilda founds a Nunnery.—Oswy's vow.—Whitby Abbey founded.—Abbey and Church at Wearmouth built by Benedict.—Contentions between the Romish and Scotch Missionaries.—Synod at Whitby Abbey.—Bede's character of the Scotch Bishops, &c.—Colman resigns his Bishopric and retires into Ireland.—Hexham made a Bishop's see.—Ceadda.—Wilfrid goes into France to be ordained.—Kentigern.—Asaph.

The means employed by divine providence for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdoms of Kent and Northumbria, were strikingly coincident. The amiable Bertha, daughter of Cherebert King of Paris, had in her marriage contract with Ethelbert King of Kent, secured for herself and attendants the free exercise of the Christian re-

ligion; and the same stipulation was made by their pious daughter Ethelburga, in her marriage settlement with Edwin, King of Northumbria, the particulars of which will be given in its place.

Ælla, King of Bernicia, died when his son Edwin was an infant, which proved a favourable opportunity for gratifying the ambitious views of Ethelfrid, King of Deira, who had married Acca, the daughter of Ælla, for he seized the kingdom of Bernicia, and annexed it to his own, and thereby founded the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy, that of Northumbria.

To prevent his being assassinated, Prince Edwin was carried by some friends of the family to the court of Cadvan, Prince of North Wales, where he was educated; but an unfortunate quarrel happened between him and Cadwallon, the eldest son of Cadvan, he was obliged to abandon the territories of that Prince. He next found an asylum in the court of Ceorl, King of Mercia. He continued here for several years, and was married to Quoenburga, daughter of Ceorl, by whom he had two sons, Osfred, and Eodfred. Edwin at length found that he was not safe from his persecutor Ethelfrith, even in the court of his father-in-law; and his wife being now dead, he fled to the court

of Redwald, King of the East Angles, where he met with the most friendly reception. But even here, his repose was soon interrupted by the usurper Ethelfrith, who offered his protector a great reward to procure his assassination. Redwald for some time resisted all the threats and promises of Ethelfrid, till at last, the promises became so tempting, and the danger of rejecting them so great, that he was just on the point of sacrificing his honour to his interest, by delivering up his royal guest into the hands of his enemy. The matter was made known to Edwin by a faithful friend, who advised him to avoid the danger by a precipitate flight. But Edwin chose rather to rely on the King's honour, declaring, that he would rather fall a victim to treachery, than have to spend his days in wandering up and down as a friendless fugitive.

Redwald acquainted his Queen with the case of Edwin, when she painted the infamy of betraying his friend in such strong colours, that Redwald changed his mind, and resolved to assist Edwin to recover his kingdom.

Redwald's refusal to comply with the murderous proposal of the usurper, was considered by him a sufficient cause for making immediate preparations for war. The two armies met in Nottinghamshire, where a

severe and decisive battle was fought on the banks of the river Idle. Redwald had drawn up his army in excellent order in three divisions; the first was commanded by his eldest son Rainer, the second by himself, and the third by Edwin. Ethelfrid made a furious attack upon the first division, and killed Rainer with his own hand. He then rushed upon the second division, but Redwald's troops not only checked the impetuosity of the Northumbrian forces, but the slaughterer of the monks at Bangor, and the usurper of Edwin's rights, received the just reward of his infamous deeds. The victory was complete, Ethelfrid was slain in the field, and Edwin was restored to his paternal territories.

It was during the time Edwin spent at the court of Redwald, that he paid a visit to the court of Ethelbert King of Kent, when he became enamoured with the charms of his daughter Ethelburga, but in the unsettled state his affairs were in, he from prudential motives, waved making known to her that passion, which it is often found the most difficult to conceal.

After Edwin had got peaceably established in his kingdom, he proposed marriage to her, but she being a pious Christian, would not hearken to his suit, or share the honours

of his crown, only on condition of enjoying the free exercise of the Christian religion for herself and her attendants. Edwin gave her his pledge not to molest, or suffer her or her attendants to be molested, in the observance of their religious worship; and even intimated, that if on examination, the evidences in favour of Christianity were more satisfactory than those in favour of his own religion, that he also might become a Christian. In the year A. D. 624 or 625, Ethelburga arrived at the court of Edwin, accompanied by Paulinus, who was consecrated a Bishop by Justus, on the occasion.

It was some time, before Edwin could make up his mind to renounce the gods of his fathers; however he consented to the baptism of his infant daughter Eanfled, which ceremony was performed on Whit-Sunday, A. D. 626, with eleven others of the King's family, who were the first on whom Paulinus performed the sacred rite of Christian baptism, after he entered upon his Northumbrian mission.

In the same year, 626, Edwin narrowly escaped the sword of an assassin. Quicelm, King of the West Saxons, sent one Eumer in the character of an ambassador to the court of Edwin, with instructions to kill him with a poisoned dagger, which he carried concealed

under his robe for that purpose. This pretended ambassador, was introduced to an audience with the King in his palace at Aldby, on the banks of the Derwent, when in the midst of his harangue, he pulled out his dagger and aimed a violent blow at the King, when Lilla, one of Edwin's courtiers, generously interposed his body to receive the blow, and fell dead on the spot, thus sacrificing his own life for the preservation of his Sovereign. Edwin determined to revenge the perfiduous conduct of Quicelm, and promised Paulinus that if he returned safe and victorious, he would embrace the Christian religion. Edwin returned victorious, nor did he forget his promise, but it was not till the Easter following that he made an open profession of Christianity. In the mean time he submitted to a course of preparatory instructions from Paulinus, to perfect his acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel. To prevent any unpleasantness on the minds of his subjects, he convened an assembly of his nobles and counsellors to hear Paulinus the Christian Bishop, and Coify, the heathen Priest, discuss the comparative truth and excellence, of Christianity and heathenism. Paulinus first addressed the assembly, in which he stated the doctrines, and adduced his proofs in support of the

truth of the Christian religion, which produced a general feeling on the minds of the assembly in favour of Christianity. He was followed in the debate by Coify, who addressed the King to the following effect.—"It becomes you, O King, to inquire into the nature of that religion which is now proposed unto us. Long have I been convinced that our worship is vain and unprofitable, since none have been more devoted to the service of the gods than I; yet many enjoy more wealth and honours than I do. If the gods had any influence, they would surely confer their greatest favours on their most faithful servants. I therefore propose to your Majesty, that if the new doctrines which we have just heard, appear to you preferable to the old, that we should embrace them without delay. For my own part, I freely profess that truth appears in bright colours in what has been set forth, as unfolding to us the gifts of life, salvation, and eternal felicity." The speech of the old Priest was followed by that of a *Thane*, or *Ealdorman*, a Saxon title, equivalent to a Baron, who spoke as follows:—"So short, O King, is the present life of man on earth, when compared with that time which is unknown to us, that it seems to me like a sparrow swiftly flying through the hall, well

warmed with a fire in the midst of it, wherein you sit at supper in the winter, with your Generals and Ministers, while furious storms of rain or snow are raging without. The bird flies in at one door, and immediately out at another; and though it feels not the wintry tempest when within, yet it enjoys but a momentary calm, while it passes from winter on the one side, to winter on the other, and then disappears from your eyes. Such is the life of man, it appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine presents us with something more certain concerning our future state, it ought by all means to be adopted." After him, Coify added, "I advise, O King, that the temples and altars which we have hitherto venerated without any profit, be immediately desecrated, and consigned to the flames." The King inquired of the Priest who was the most proper person to execute his proposal? Coify replied, "Who can more properly than myself destroy those which I worshipped through ignorance, that I may be an example to others of better information now afforded me by the true God." He then requested the King to furnish him with arms and a horse, both of which the Priests were prohibited to use, according to

the rules of their superstition. The King complied with his request, and having girded on a sword, with a lance in his hand he rode to the idol temple at Godmundham, now called Godmanham, not far from the King's palace at Aldby, on the Derwent, in the East-Riding of Yorkshire. When the Priest reached the place he threw the lance into the temple to prophane it, and as a token of defiance to the idols it contained.—This was the signal for its destruction; for those who accompanied him immediately set it on fire, and burned it to the ground.

We are not much surprised at the sudden proposal of the old Priest for a change of religion; especially, as he knew the mind of the King on the subject; for it is evident from the whole tenour of his speech, that with him "gain was godliness." With all his zeal for the Christian religion, we fear he knew but little of what St. Paul hath said on the subject, that "*if I give my body to be burned*, from any other motive than pure love to God, *it profiteth nothing.*" Without this love, whatever a man may speak,—believe,—know,—do,—or suffer, it is nothing.

The King having thus openly renounced the idolatry of his fathers, he, with a number of his nobles, among whom were his

two sons by his former wife, and his niece, the celebrated Lady Hilda, were all baptized by Paulinus at York, on Easter day, A. D. 267, in a small wooden Oratory, or Chapel, which was constructed for the occasion.

That magnificent fabric called York Minster, which was built many ages after, is supposed to enclose the spot where this small Chapel was erected.

The profession of Christianity by the King and his nobles, changed at once the religion of the Kingdom. Great numbers of all ranks followed their example, who might be seen crowding the road to where Paulinus resided, for the purpose of being received into the Church by baptism, who it is said, administered that ordinance to not fewer than twelve thousand in one day, in the river Swale.* The residence of Paulinus appears to have been at a place near Catterick-bridge, anciently called Cataracton, as the river Swale, in which they were baptized runs by there.

Edwin's zealous exertions for the propagation of the Gospel, were not limited to the precincts of his own dominions, but he aimed at the conversion of his neighbours; and succeeded in persuading Carpwald, King of the East Angles, to embrace Christianity.

* Nennius apud xv. script. p. 117. Vide Henry Hist. Vol. 3. p.200.

He also accompanied Paulinus into Lincolnshire, for the purpose of propagating the Gospel in that country; nor was this missionary excursion unsuccessful, for the governor of Lincoln,* and several of the principal inhabitants of that city were converted to Christianity by the preaching of Paulinus.

To reward these valuable services, Edwin erected a Bishop's see at York for Paulinus, and it is said even obtained an Archbishop's pall for him from Pope Honorius.†

There is an ancient tradition that Paulinus preached at Dewsbury; and Camben mentions an ancient cross with the following inscription:—

"PAVLINVS HIC PRŒDICAVIT ET CELEBRAVIT."

In consequence of that tradition, there has recently been erected, a neat wheel cross, fac simile of the Saxon, at the East end of the Chancel, on the outside of the Church. Though the personal Ministry of Paulinus was not every where followed by the erection

* Cair Loid Coit, or Cair Luyt Coyt, as Archbishop Usher writes it, is by most historians applied to Lincoln. Now Coit signifies *wood*, and taken appellatively, what reference can the monosyllable Loid or Luyt, have to Lincoln? But to Leeds it hath, or *Loidis*, as King Alfrid's Saxon version of Bede hath it, and signifies in our modern dialect, the city of *Loid in the wood*, and when considered in reference to the actions ascribed to the place, they more genuinely suit Leeds than Lincoln.

Thorsby's Ducatus Leodiensis.

† Nennius adud xv. script. p. 117. Vide Henry Hist. Vol. 3. p. 200.

of Churches, yet in many places he erected *basillica* or crosses, and it is probable that the Parish Church of Dewsbury stands upon the scite of one of these Saxon edifices.

But the arduous labours, and pleasing prospects of this Apostle of the North, were suddenly blasted by the lamented death of Edwin, who with his excellent Queen, had been a nursing father, and a nursing mother to the infant Church in Northumbria.

Hitherto, the reign of Edwin had been an almost uninterrupted succession of victories over his enemies, but a dangerous and formidable rival now appeared on the stage in the person of Penda, King of the Mercians; who was one of the most fierce and bloody tyrants that ever disgraced royalty. To insure success in his attack upon Edwin, he entered into alliance with Cadwallon, Prince of Wales, who had not yet forgot his quarrel with Edwin in his youth. These two Princes having united their forces, invaded Northumbria with a very great army, and engaged Edwin in Hatfield Chase, where a desperate battle was fought, in which Edwin and one of his Sons were slain, and his army almost cut to pieces in the action. Thus he ended his life and reign, October 12th, A.D.633. Penda with his conquering army, over-ran Northumbria with all the savage barbarity of pagan

fury, marking his steps with fire and sword; to prevent falling into whose merciless hands, Paulinus, with the Queen and surviving members of the royal family, fled by sea into Kent. The Queen found an asylum in the court of her brother Eadbald, and Paulinus was appointed Bishop of Rochester.

This year (633.) died Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury. and was succeeded by Honorius a disciple of St. Gregory, who was consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln. This prelate was the first in England, who divided his diocese into Parishes, and fixed a resident Clergyman in each. Before this time, the Clergy resided either in Monasteries or Bishop's houses, and made occasional journeys into other parts, preaching and administering the sacraments.*

The desolating armies of Penda and Cadwallon, continued to ravage the country, and commit almost unparralleled cruelties on the inhabitants, for a full year after the death of Edwin; until every vestage of the fruit of Paulinus's labours in that country, were swept away as with the besom of destruction.

Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrith by Acca, Edwin's sister, fled into Scotland on the death of his father, who on hearing of the distressed state of the Northumbrians,

* Goodwin p. 59.

he commisserated their condition, and collected a few faithful adherents to join him in the arduous enterprise, of delivering his country out of the hands of their oppressors. When Oswald saw the numerous army the enemy had brought into the field, and the mere handful of men he had to oppose them, he felt conscious that it would be presumptuous in him to depend entirely on his own skill, or the prowess of his men, but apply to the Lord of Hosts for his assistance. In token of his dependance on Christ, before the engagement he erected a wooden Cross, in a field near Denisburn, from which circumstance it derived the name it is still called by, Heavenfield. Before this cross, Oswald, and a number of those that came with him out of Scotland, they being Christians, kneeled down with him and prayed to the Almighty for his assistance, to enable them to humble their proud and cruel foe. After prayer, Oswald disposed his little army into a posture of defence, when Cadwallon despising such a feeble opponent led on the attack in person, but when making his first advance, and elated with all the confidence of certain victory, a fatal shaft pierced his breast and laid him in the dust.

The death of Cadwallon, threw the whole army into consternation and disorder, which

Oswald taking advantage of, completely routed with very great slaughter.

Soon after this battle, Oswald ascended the throne of Northumbria, and one of his first concerns was, to have his subjects instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. He had received his education among the Scots, who had then a flourishing Monastery in the island of Iona, founded by the celebrated Columba. Oswald sent there for some Christian Ministers to come and instruct his people, which request was complied with, and one was sent of the name of Corman; but he being a man of an austere disposition, and finding his ministry unsuccessful, returned in disgust, and reported that the Northumbrians were too barbarous and untractable to be taught. When the brethren at Iona held a council to receive Corman's report, and consider what was to be done, one of them named Aidan, thus addressed the disappointed Missionary, "It seems to me brother, that you have been too severe on your unlearned hearers, and have not acted upon the Apostles' plan, that is, to feed them first with milk before you give them strong meat." By this remark, Aidan attracted the attention of the whole assembly, and they unanimously fixed on him as the most proper person to undertake the mission.

He was ordained Bishop, and sent into Northumbria under the patronage of Oswald; and so zealous was this pious Prince for the conversion of his subjects, that until Aidan became sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country, Oswald often acted as his interpretor. Aidan having seen how soon those who had been brought to profess the Christian faith, fell into their former idolatry when left without a Christian Pastor, as in the case of Paulinus' removal, when nearly all whom he had brought to profess the Christian faith turned back to their idolatrous rites. To guard against a similar event, he invited a number of his brethren from Scotland to assist him in the work, and fixed his residence upon the island of Lindisfarne now called Holy Island; a few miles North of Bebbanburgh, the capital of Bernicia, now called Bamborough.

From Bede's account of Aidan, it appears that he was a man of extraordinary piety, meekness, and prudence, united with indefatigable diligence. He neither aspired after power, nor amassed wealth; for what was given him by the rich, he gave to the poor. It is reported of him, that King Oswy made him a present of one of his best horses richly harnessed;—that one day meeting with a poor man asking alms, and having

nothing else to give, he dismounted and gave him his horse. Oswy meeting with him soon after, and having heard how he had disposed of his horse, blamed him for his indiscreet generosity; to whom he replied, "What? my King! Is the offspring of a mare dearer to you than that son of God?" An answer with which the King was much affected. At home his time was spent in study and devotion; when abroad, in visiting the sick, and doing every thing in his power to promote the salvation of souls.—Though a Bishop, he might be seen itinerating among the villages without either mitre, crosier, or any external pomp. But his superior worth commanded that veneration, which pomp and grandeur, unaccompanied with true piety solicits in vain. If he was seen on the road the people ran to beg his blessing; and if he came to a village, the inhabitants would flock together and intreat him to preach to them the word of life. The church at Lindisfarne, was at once both a cathedral and a monastery, and like that at Iona, might with propriety be called a seminary of learning, rather than a habitation of mere recluses and devotees. Aidan was at once a Bishop, an Abbott, and a professor of Divinity; and his monks were all either Ministers, or Students preparing for public

usefulness. From this seminary, Preachers were sent out in every direction, who carried the glad tidings of the gospel into several of the neighbouring kingdoms.

About the same time that Aidan re-established Christianity in Northumbria; Bernius, a Missionary from Rome, began to preach the gospel among the West-Saxons, in which he was encouraged by Cynigisel, the King of Wessex, who had recently embraced the Christian faith. He founded a Bishop's see at Dorchester; of which Bernius was the first Bishop, A. D. 635.

The sun of prosperity, which for a time had cheered the Christian churches in the north, was again eclipsed by another of those desolating wars, which at that period of territorial enterprise, so frequently prevailed.

Penda, King of the Mercians, was a proud, restless, and sanguinary man, who bore an implacable enmity against the Northumbrians, and without any provocation, invaded the country with a powerful army, and in a battle fought on the fifth of August, A. D. 642. Oswald was slain at Masserfield, in Shropshire, which was afterward in commemoration of that event called Oswald-tree, now Oswestry.

The author of the Legends of Cuthbert says, that "the deathe of Oswalde proved

the deathe of Aidanus, for the pagans at one blowe kild a Prince with a sworde, and a Bishoppe with sorrowe." But as the good man survived that event nine years, though his grief might be great, we cannot say that it was mortal. After the death of Oswald, he built the monastery at Melross on the banks of the Tweed. This truly pious and apostolic man, having faithfully discharged the functions of his offices, as Abbott of the monastery, and Bishop of the church for the space of sixteen years, died in peace at his favourite appartments on Lindisfarne, the thirty-first of August, A. D. 651.

Aidan was succeeded in his offices by Finan, a man of a kindred spirit, and similar habits. He faithfully performed the functions of his office for ten years, and was succeeded by Colman.

On the death of Oswald, the kingdom of Northumbria was again divided. Oswy succeeded him in the kingdom of Bernicia; and Oswin, that of Deira, the seat of whose government was York.

To appease the infuriated passion of Penda, and ward off the impending stroke from the sword of that merciless man, Oswy offered him all the royal ornaments, and an almost incredible sum of money. The proposed terms were rejected by Penda, with

all that contempt peculiar to a cruel and haughty conquerer, whom nothing would satisfy but the extirpation of the kingdom; and the number of his troops seemed more than sufficient to execute his cruel purpose.

Oswy finding that all terms of a pacific nature were disdainfully rejected, he with his son Alchfrid, collected the wreck of their former army, being determined to make the best resistance they could. Scarcely had they time to get their feeble forces concentrated, before they were attacked by Penda, with a force of at least thirty times the number of Oswy's army, when a battle was fought on Winmore, November 15th, A. D. 655, near the river Winuaed, now called Broad-Aire, which runs through Leeds. Oswy and his Son, charged the hosts of Penda like men in despair, who were determined not to part with their lives and country but at the dearest rate. Their little army were all fired with the same patriotic spirit, and in a short time the Mercians were repulsed at every point; the greatest part of Penda's army was cut to pieces, and himself, with most of his thirty chieftains were left dead on the field of battle. This signal victory was followed by the submission of all Mercia, to the victorious arms of Oswy, whose first concern was to send them a sup-

ply of preachers, to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity. He prevailed upon Sigebert King of the East-Saxons, to allow his subjects to be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity; for which purpose a Priest of the name of Chad or Cedd, was sent from the monastery at Lindisfarne, who was made instrumental in the conversion of the King and a great number of his subjects. Chad was afterwards ordained Bishop of London, by Finanus, Bishop of Lindisfarne.

His zeal in the discharge of his ministerial duties, led him to itinerate through every part of the country on foot, and success attended his labours wherever he went. To the kingdom of Northumbria, the scene of his earliest labours he felt a strong attachment, and several visits were paid by him to his brother Caelin, who then ministered at the court of the King of Deira, whose metropolis was York. That King gave him a large lot of land for the founding and support of a monastery at Lestingham; and when on a visit to this favourite retreat, in the year A. D. 664, he was seized with the pestilence which was then raging in the country and died. Thus closed the life and labours of this truly apostolic man. His remains were interred in the church on the right side of the altar.

When the inhabitants of Essex received intelligence of the death of their Bishop, to shew their respect for his memory, about thirty of the monks belonging to his monasteries there, came to Lestingham, when they all took the infection and died, except a little boy who afterwards became a presbyter.*

About this period, numerous churches and monasteries were erected in different parts of the county; chiefly built of wood, and in a very slight manner. Such was that founded by St. Bega for the reception of nuns, at the mouth of the river Wear, which was removed for the erection of that splendid abby and church which was built there by Benidict, or Bennett, surnamed Biscop;—an account of which will be given in its place. One of the most interesting characters of the age in which she lived was, the celebrated Lady Hilda. This Lady was niece to King Edwin, and was baptized into the Christian faith at the age of thirteen, along with Edwin and a number of his nobles, by Paulinus at York, A. D. 627. It is to be feared that many received Christian baptism at that time, out of mere compliment to the court; before they were either properly instructed in the doctrines and principles of Christianity, or had so felt the

* Young's Hist. of Whitby, vol. 1, p. 167.

force of divine truth on their minds, as to produce contrition for their former sins; for on the return of Paulinus into Kent, they nearly all returned to their former idolatry. However palpably this might appear in others, we cannot but conclude from Hilda's subsequent conduct, that her conversion was real.

On the arrival of Aidan, she put herself under his instruction, and at the age of thirty-three she assumed the vail with his entire approbation. About the same time, A. D. 647, or 648, she intended retiring into a nunnery in France, where she had a sister who had taken the vail; but being repeatedly disappointed of a passage, Aidan advised her to settle in her own country, to which she consented, and obtained a hide* of land for establishing a nunnery on the north of the Wear. The place where this nunnery was erected is not clearly ascertained, the most probable opinion is, that it was in the neighbourhood of South Shields, where there is a church dedicated to St. Hilda. From this place Hilda removed to a nunnery near the mouth of the river Tees, on the spot where Hartlepool now stands.

* An hide, plough, or family of land, were terms used synonimously; importing as much land as one yoke of oxen could dress in a year; or was sufficient for the maintenance of one family. *Notes on Wilcock's lives of the Abbotts.*

This was the first nunnery that was founded in Britain, by Hegu, who is supposed to have been the first British female that assumed the vail. Hegu removed from Hartlepool to found a nunnery at Tadcaster, and was succeeded in her office by Hilda.

A singular circumstance which happened whilst Hilda was at Hartlepool, gave an unexpected turn to her affairs, and brought her into a more enlarged sphere of action. When King Oswy found that neither promises nor presents, would prevail on Penda King of Mercia, to sign a treaty of peace with him ;—and that all the troops he could raise were but a handful compared with the hosts of Penda ;—he earnestly sought assistance from God by solemn prayer, and vowed, that if the Lord would give him the victory over his cruel foe, he would devote his daughter to be a holy virgin, and give with her, twelve manors of land for founding and supporting monasteries. Oswy obtained a complete victory as before related, when Penda was slain on the banks of the river Aire; and Oswy, like Jephthah, he *did with her according to his vow which he had vowed :* for on his return he committed his infant daughter Elfleda to the care of Lady Hilda. This new charge, together with such an increase of wealth, added greatly

to the respectability of the Abbess Hilda, who now found herself in circumstances to undertake a new and enlarged establishment; and two years after, she purchased ten hides of land at a place called Streonshalh, now called Whitby. Here she erected a new monastery, in which she and the young Princess, together with a number of their nuns who removed from Hartlepool, took up their abode; whose fame, founded upon the singular piety of the Abbess, the rank and respectability of her nuns, raised it to be the most noted establishment of the kind in the Island.

In the reign of Oswy flourished a number of distinguished characters, whose history is connected with the establishment of many of the Christian churches in Northumbria. The first we shall notice here is Benedict, or Bennett, surnamed Biscop, the founder of that splendid abby and church at Wearmouth.

Benedict was descended from a noble family among the English Saxons. In the twenty-fifth year of his age he renounced all worldly pleasures, and devoted himself wholly to religious pursuits.

In the year A. D. 653, he took a journey to Rome, for the purpose of acquiring a correct knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline,

that he might establish the same in Britain. It was after his return from his fourth journey to Rome, that he commenced the building of this monastery, for the support of which the King made him a grant of seventy hides of land.

The perturbed state the country had long been in, had left no leisure for cultivating the arts, and the rude character of the age might be seen in all their public and private buildings. Benedict had improved his taste by travelling, the advantages of which he wished to communicate to his country; he therefore went over to France, and engaged a number of workmen to build a magnificent church of stone for the use of the monastery, after the modal of the Romans which he much admired. He also sent to France for artificers skilled in the art of making glass; an art with which the inhabitants of the British Isles were at that time unacquainted. These artizans came, and not only executed their commission of glazing the church windows, but also instructed some of the natives in the same art, and it is believed that glass has been made in that neighbourhood ever since;—the glass manufactories on the banks of the Wear, are at present very extensive. From the above it appears that the church at Monkwearmouth, was the first

building in England that was glazed with glass of British manufacture. If it be correct, that Wilfrid glazed the Cathedral at York in the year A. D. 670, he must have imported the glass from the Continent.

Benedict gave full scope to his enterprising genius in order to render the church and abbey at Monkwearmouth, the most splendid of any in the kingdom. After procuring every ornament that the most polished provinces of France could furnish, he took his fifth journey to Rome, and brought from thence a most valuable collection of the greatest rarities, that imperial city could produce. One part of his cargo consisted of an immense library of valuable books;—also an extensive assortment of valuable paintings on the following subjects. The first were the portraits of the Virgin Mary and the Twelve Apostles, on a very large scale. These were fixed in a wooden frame that extended from wall to wall, and covered the ceiling of the church. The second set were a series of historical pieces, selected from the four gospels, exhibiting a number of the most interesting passages in our Saviour's life; these adorned the south wall; and the north wall was decorated with an exhibition of the terrific visions of St. John, described in the book of revelations. These

pictures were *professedly*, designed for the accommodation of the unlettered worshipers.

Benedict brought with him also, a large collection of *holy relics* of the Apostles and Martyrs of Jesus. These were the first Popish relics we read of being brought into the Northumbrian Churches, the demand for which in a short time after, not only produced an immense revenue to the Pope for what was imported from Rome; but in many of the monasteries, the cells in which religion had been studied by their first occupants, were converted into manufactories of *holy relics*, such as the preserved legs and arms, hands and feet of saints, (so called) with a thousand other things, which common decency compels us to pass over in silence, and blush for our deluded forefathers, who were so eager to possess such precious treasures, the virtues of which were to preserve them from all bodily and spiritual harm, as a reward from the saint to whose bones they paid such a religious veneration.

Benedict was particularly fond of the Roman method of singing or chanting the church service, and obtained permission of the Pope to bring over with him John, Abbott of St. Martin's, and presentor of St. Peter's at Rome, to instruct his monks in the art of singing by notes, as he wished to form

his establishment as near as possible to the Roman pattern. This splendid monastery being now completed, the King was so pleased at having such an establishment in his dominions, and rightly appreciating the advantages of an increase of religion and learning in the land, that he gave another grant of forty hides of land for the maintenance of another monastery to be erected at Girwy, now called Jarrow, on the summit of an elevated ridge, about half a mile south of the river Tyne, and two miles west of South Shields. This building was begun by Benedict, in the year A. D. 682, and compleated by Ceolfrid in A. D. 684, as appears from an ancient inscription which was on the church wall, and according to Dugdale, in his evidences of the two monasteries stood thus. DEDICATIO ECCESIÆ S. PAULI VIII. KALEND MAII ANNO XV. EGRIDI REGIS CEOLFRIDI ABBOTIS EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ DEO AUCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IV.

The house being prepared for their reception, seventeen monks were transferred there from the monastery at Wearmouth, which from their being so connected in their foundations, and such an uninterrupted intercourse kept up between the two houses, that several writers have mentioned them as one,

under the conjoined title of St. Peter and St. Paul. To this monastery the venerable Bede was removed from that at Wearmouth, of whom, on account of his extraordinary piety, and the extensive benefits the world has derived from his labours, we shall notice more at large in its proper place.

From this period may be marked the rapid progress of popish influence in the British churches. It appears that after the Romans evacuated the island, the British had to experience the most convulsive struggles with the Picts and Saxons; and that wherever the pagan sword prevailed, it scarcely left a mark by which to trace where Christianity had been. But in some of the mountainous parts of Cornwall, in Wales, in some parts of Scotland, and in the Island of Iona, religious establishments were found that had outlived those desolating storms which had swept the gospel from other parts of the Island. These churches having had scarcely any intercourse with the churches on the Continent for near two hundred years; had retained the doctrines; observed the same rites; and practiced the same dicipline they had received from their first founders. During the above period, great alterations had taken place in the churches abroad:—the Bishop of Rome had assumed an unheard of

power, and had introduced a number of new rites and ceremonies, totally unknown to the British churches; so that the Missionaries who came from Rome, could not at all unite with the plain unassuming disciples of Aidan, Finan, Colman, &c. the first Bishops of Northumbria.

The churches in Kent, and among the East and West Angles, were planted by Missionaries from Rome and France, who established there, the rites and customs of the churches from whence they came, which gave rise to numerous controversies between the churches in the South, and those in the North; particularly about the time of keeping Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure.

The church of Rome never observed Easter till after the fourteenth day of the moon which followed the vernal equinox; so that their Easter Sunday could not be earlier than the fifteenth day of the moon, and might be as late as the twenty-first; but in the British churches, if the fourteenth day of that moon happened to be the first day of the week, it was kept as Easter-day, and consequently their Easter could not be later than the twentieth day of the moon. The Romish Clergy cherished the same intolerant spirit of that church from whence they came; and were not contented with the peaceable enjoy-

ment of their own customs, but laboured with much violence to impose them upon the Britons, Scots, and Northumbrians, who were all tenatiously attached to their own usages. In no place did these disputes assume a more serious aspect, than in the court of Oswy. The King was partial to the customs of the Scots by whom he had been instructed; whilst his Queen and Prince Alchfrid contended for the Roman ritual. It so happened, (though it could not often occur) that whilst Oswy and his Scotish party were keeping Easter, the Queen and her Romanists, were observing Palm-Sunday, their Lent not being yet finished.

To set this disputed point at rest, Oswy convened a synod which was held in the abby at Whitby, in the year A. D. 664. On the day appointed, Oswy, Abbess Hilda, Colman Bishop of Lindisfarne, with some of his Clergy, came forward as the heads of the Scotish party; and Prince Alchfrid, Agelbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, with Agotha, Wilfrid, James, and Romanus, Priests, on the part of the Romanists. The venerable Cedd, Bishop of Essex, acted as moderator of the synod, and mediator between the parties.

On opening the synod, King Oswy remarked, that "they who serve one God,

should hold one rule of life;—and they who expect the same heavenly kingdom, ought not to differ in observing the heavenly sacraments. Let us inquire then, which is the true tradition, and let us all agree to follow it." He then desired Colman the Bishop of Lindisfarne, to state what he had to say on the subject. The good man addressed the assembly as follows:—"The Easter which I keep, is what I received from those who sent me here as a Bishop, and which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have observed in the same way. That it was the same that was observed by the Evangelist John, the beloved disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all the churches under his inspection." When Colman had finished his speech, the King desired Bishop Agilbert to produce his authority on the other side of the question; but Agilbert begged to be excused, as he was not master of the English language, and requested that his disciple Wilfrid, might be permitted to speak in his stead. This request was readily granted, when Wilfrid, one of the most learned and pompous orators of his day, began his speech thus: "That Easter which we keep, we have seen observed by all who are at Rome, where the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, lived, taught, suffered, and were buried:

we have beheld it universally practised in Italy and Gaul, which we have travelled over for the sake of learning and devotion: —and we have learned that it is kept at one and the same time, by Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and the whole Christian world, except these only, and their accomplices in obstinacy; I mean the Picts and Britons; in conjunction with whom, though occupying only two remote islands of the ocean, and not even the whole of these, they fight with foolish labour against the whole world."

To this insulting speech, Colman calmly replied by saying, "It is strange that you would call our labour *foolish*, in which we follow the example of so great an Apostle as John, who was thought worthy to lean on the breast of our Lord." Wilfrid wished to wave off having imputed folly to John, by arguing on the comparative weight of authority between Columba, and the Apostolic see; and between that of John, with Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, to whom our Lord Jesus Christ said:—"Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;

and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

On hearing these words from Wilfrid, Oswy asked Colman if it was true, that our Saviour had spoken them to Peter? The Bishop answered in the affirmative. The King then asked, "have you any thing to shew in proof that such powers were granted to your Columba? To this the Bishop replied in the negative, "Are you both agreed then," adds the King, "that these things were principally spoken to Peter, and that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given him by the Lord?" It was replied, that on this they were agreed. "Well then," says Oswy, by way of closing the debate, "I tell you, that as Peter is the door-keeper, I will not oppose him on any account, but to the utmost of my knowledge and ability, I will obey all his statutes, lest, when I come to the gates of heaven I find them shut against me by him who is allowed to keep the keys."

The King's speech was received with applause by the Romanist's party, upon which it was resolved as an act of the assembly, immediately to adopt the Roman customs, and discontinue those of the British church.*

* The same custom was adopted by the Picts, A. D. 690. By the Scots, A. D. 716, and by the Welsh or ancient Britons, about the year A. D. 800.

Among other frivolous subjects brought before the synod was the tonsure, or cut of the hair. Superstition had prescribed to the clergy of both parties a particular method of shaving the head. The British clergy adopted the oblong tonsure, extending across the fore part of the head from ear to ear; but the Romish clergy made use of a circular tonsure, intending thereby to represent a crown of thorns. Wilfrid was well prepared to declaim on the importance of uniformity in this *essential* qualification, he having brought the true *orthodox cut* out of France; but as Oswy's proposal was generally agreed to, which included all the real, or pretended ordinances of St. Peter, further discussion was unnecessary, the Romish party having gained their point. The historian Bede, passes a high compliment on the wisdom displayed by the King on this occasion; and indeed if he has related the matter as it really was, we may admire his wit. in the ready way he took to silence the disputants, whatever we may think of his divinity. Whilst Bede speaks of the errors of Colman and his party as most dangerous heresies, yet he extols their piety, and unintentionally pays them a very high compliment when he states "that they were ignorant of the decrees of councils, and diligently observed no

other works of piety and purity than what they could find in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostolical epistles.* It would be too much to say that the churches founded by Aidan in Northumbria, had been preserved from every thing that might be termed superstitious, but they were strangers to that mass of unmeaning ceremonies, with which the church of Rome has encumbered the worship of God.

They observed Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Whitsunday; but they had none of the crowd of holidays which filled the Romish calendar. They esteemed and recommended celibicy in the clergy, but it was not enjoined by any of their canons; for among the acts of one of the Irish synods, we find rules for the conduct of the *wives* of clergymen of every order.† The churches in Northumbria were not enriched with the bones of Columba, or any of the saints of Iona; nor did Aidan or his brethren import any of these *precious* commodities from the continent. Their churches were set apart for the worship of God, but were never dedicated to any of the saints; for Bede informs us that it was not till some years after their departure, that the church of Lindisfarne, which

* Bede L. iii. c. 4. † Wilk. Con. i. p 2.

was their principal church, was dedicated to the Apostle Peter, by Archbishop Theodore.

From the whole it appears that Aidan, and his coadjutors, as much surpassed the Romanists in piety, zeal, self-denial, and unwearied labours, as they fell short of them in superstitious pomp and bigotry. The one from a principle of love to God, laboured to exalt the Redeemer, and thought no exertions too great, by which they might be instrumental in spreading the knowledge of his glory, and promote the salvation of souls: —the others sought by every desirable means to promote the honours, and increase the emoluments of the church of Rome.

Soon after the synod of Streoneshalh, the pious Colman resigned his bishopric, and with a number of friends retired into Ireland, where, according to Bede, he employed himself in founding and governing two monasteries. Colman was succeeded in the bishopric of Lindisfarne by Tuda, a man of like spirit with himself, but less opposed to the Roman innovations, having been educated among the southern Scots,* by

* By the southern Scots we are to understand the southern inhabitants of Ireland. Ireland was the country then called Scotia; —that name does not appear to have been given to North Britain till after the middle of the ninth century, when the Scotish kingdom which had been gradually formed in the western parts of North Britian by colonies from Ireland, overpowered the kingdom of the Picts, the descendants of the ancient Caledonians.

Young's Hist. of Whitby, Vol. i.

whom many of the Romish customs had been adopted. Tuda continued but a short time in his important office before he was removed from his labours to his rest, A.D.664.

After the death of Tuda, the Bishopric was divided, when Hexham was made a Bishop's see, and Lindisfarne was left without a Bishop till the promotion of Eata, in the year A.D. 678. The vacancy in this see might be occasioned by the raging of one of the most dreadful pestilences recorded in history, by which great numbers were swept away both in Britain and Ireland.—Among its victims were those truly valuable servants of Christ, Tuda, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Cedd, Abbott of Lestingham, and Bishop of Essex, as before related.

Cedd was succeeded by his brother Ceadda, as Abbott of Lestingham; but King Oswy being desirous of having the see of Northumbria filled by one of the disciples of Aidan, resolved to prefer Ceadda to that Bishopric, and sent him to be ordained by Deusdedit Archbishop of Canterbury.

When Ceadda and his companions arrived in Kent, they were informed of the death of the Archbishop, which event had but just taken place; he therefore went to Wini, Bishop of Wessex, and was ordained by him, two of the British or Welsh Bishops,

assisting at the ordination. Ceadda had imbibed much of the spirit of his preceptor Aidan, and his brother Cedd, and was a rigid imitator of their zeal, humility, and self-denial. He travelled on foot through the whole of his diocess, preaching the gospel in every quarter; so that the town and the country, the castle and the cottage, shared alike the benefits of his ministry.

King Alchfrid was particularly attached to Wilfrid, and with the consent of his father Oswy, he sent him into France to be ordained: but not being satisfied that the ceremony should be performed at an ordinary meeting of Bishops, he waited until he could have twelve Bishops present, that his ordination might be attended with a splendour suited to his ambition. On his return, he was not a little disappointed at finding that the see of Northumbria was already occupied. The pious Ceadda soon perceived that he stood in the way of Wilfrid's views, and to prevent any unpleasantness, he voluntarily resigned his Bishopric to Wilfrid, and retired into his monastery at Lestingham. Soon after the diocess of Mercia became vacant by the death of Bishop Jaruman, when Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, with the consent of King Oswy, appointed Ceadda to that Bishopric. His advancement

to this extensive charge, which comprised the whole of Mercia, with the province of Lindissy, or Lincolnshire, produced no change in his mind or habits; he was the same pious, humble, zealous, servant of the church of Christ as before. He resided chiefly at Litchfield, and was the first of the Mercian Bishops who made that place an episcopal seat, being at that time neither a town nor a village. From this place the good Bishop travelled on foot to the most distant parts of his diocess, preaching the gospel, and performing the different functions of his important office; and such was his apostolic simplicity, that he never made use of a horse until he was in a manner compelled to it by Archbishop Theodore, who set him on horseback with his own hands. But the valuable labours of this apostolic disciple of Aidan were soon brought to a period, for he died about two years and a half after he was translated to the see of Mercia.

About this time Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow in Scotland, was driven from his charge and the country, by the rage of his pagan enemies the Picts, and sought an asylum in the vale of Cluyde, in North Wales. Under the patronage of Malgon, the Prince of North Wales, he founded a monastery on the banks of the river Elwy.

This institution rose to be one of the first importance in that country; not only in that it gave birth to the see of St. Asaph; but if the account of John of Tinmouth be correct, there were in the abby nine hundred and sixty-five monks, one of whom was called Asaph. Kentigern regulated the affairs of the monastery with great prudence and economy. He employed three hundred of the monks who were least inclined to study, in husbandry abroad; other three hundred he employed in laborious work in and about the monastery; and the others were divided into classes, to pursue their studies or devotions to better advantage.—Whilst Kentigern continued in Wales, he is said to have travelled on foot, preaching to the rude and barbarous inhabitants, many of whom had relapsed into heathenism, and was instrumental in converting many of them to the Christian faith, and built several churches. On being recalled to the north, Kentigern appointed his disciple Asaph, Abbott and Bishop of Llan-Elwy;—that after his death the see was called by his name, which it has retained ever since.

It is recorded of Asaph, that he was a faithful and zealous preacher; and that he used to say, "they envy the salvation of souls who oppose the preaching of the word."

But the church of Rome had not yet attained to her full strength in the British churches, though her influence was gradually extending through the means of her active emissaries, which the subsequent parts of this history will more fully develope. St. Asaph was eminent in his day for piety and learning; he wrote the "Ordinances" of his church, the "Life of Kentigern,' and some other pieces. He flourished about A. D. 590, but the time of his death is uncertain.*

* Biog. Brit.

CHAPTER IV.

Wighart sent to Rome to be consecrated: dies there, and Theodore is sent by the Pope.—Council at Hartford. —Theodore divides the large Bishoprics.—Wilfrid refuses to comply and appeals to the Pope.—His reception at Rome.—The Pope's authority not acknowledged.—Monothelites heresy.—Wilfrid cast into prison.—His release and banishment.—His success in preaching to the South Saxons.—Death of Theodore.—Wilfrid's return to Northumberland.—Again expelled the dominions.—Goes into Mercia.—Synod at Nesterfield.—Death of Alfrid.—Council held on the banks of the Nidd.—Death of Wilfrid.—Popish influence.—Life of Bede.

After King Oswy had publicly professed his approval of the Roman customs, the influence of the papal power over the British churches, began to advance with amazing rapidity. Violent efforts were made both by the Princes and Priests, to produce a conformity with, and obedience to, the church of Rome. As one step towards its accomplishment, the King of Kent sent Wighart elect of Canterbury, to be consecrated at Rome according to the Roman ritual. The arrival of Wighart in Rome, on such an occasion was very gratifying to the Pope, who received him with every mark of respect;

but before his consecration could be performed, he died of the plague which then raged in that city.

The British Kings had hitherto nominated the Bishops to the vacant sees in their own dominions; but the death of Wighart at Rome before his consecration took place, presented a favourable opportunity to Pope Vitalian, of exercising that power over the British churches, to the universal establishment of which he had long been aspiring. To fill the place for which Wighart was designed, he consecrated one Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, to be the Archbishop of Canterbury, March 25th, A. D. 668, who having received his credentials in due form from the Pope, arrived in England, May A. D. 669, and was favourably received by the British Princes. Soon after his arrival, the new Archbishop visited all the English churches, consecrated Bishops where they were wanting, and in order to reduce every thing to a perfect conformity to the church of Rome, he convened a council of all the English Bishops, with their principal Clergy to meet at Hartford, A. D. 673.—There were present at this council, besides the Metropolitan, Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles; Lutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons; Winfrid, Bishop of the Mercians;

and Putta, Bishop of Rochester; and Wilfrid Bishop of York, by proxy. Theodore produced a copy of the canons he had brought with him from Rome, and pointed out ten of them, which were peculiarly necessary to be observed, in order to establish uniformity between the English and Roman churches; to which all present gave their consent.—Besides the above, he introduced several new doctrines and practices, which, till then, were unknown in the English churches. One of these new doctrines was that of auricular confession to a Priest, as necessary to obtain absolution. This doctrine was in direct opposition to the views of the Scotch Missionaries, who taught that confession to God was sufficient.*

By the ninth canon of the council of Hartford, it was proposed that new Bishopries should be erected where they were most wanted; but though this was one of the most reasonable regulations in the whole collection, the Bishops did not consent to its immediate execution, but referred it to more mature consideration. Till about this time, there was but one Bishopric in each of the six kingdoms of the Heptarchy which had embraced Christianity, except that of Kent, in which there were two.—

* Egberti Inst. Eccles, vide Henry, vol 3, page 208.

Some of these Bishoprics were very extensive, particularly that at York, which comprehended all the countries between the Humber and the frith of Forth.*

The conduct of Wilfrid Bishop of York, was in almost every respect, the reverse of what might be expected in a Christian Bishop. His immense revenues arising from the monasteries and other church property, which had been lavished upon him by the court, enabled him to indulge in all that pomp and splendour, so congenial to the views of a proud ambitious man. He had his table loaded with gold and silver plate :— his numerous attendants were all well mounted and armed, and shone in the most costly and splendid liveries. The sentiment was general and freely circulated, that such pomp and pride, very ill became the man who professed himself a Minister of the meek and lowly Jesus :—that the emoluments which could support so much splendour, might suffice for the maintenance of three or four Bishops. These sentiments were in perfect unison both with the views of the King Egfrid, (who succeeded his father Oswy, A. D. 670,) and the plan of the Archbishop, which was passed at the council held at Hartford, to which Wilfrid was

* Ibid, page 209.

invited, but did not chuse to attend. The resolution passed at the council was, "That the number of Bishops should be increased in proportion to the number of the faithful."

The Archbishop, with the advice of the King, consecrated two new Bishops for Northumbria; Bosa, and Eata, the latter for Lindisfarne.

Wilfrid most violently opposed the division of his Bishopric, as a species of sacrilegious robbery; he came boldly to the court when the King and the Archbishop were giving audience to the people, and asked why he had been deprived of his income, which was given to him by Princes for pious purposes, without being proved guilty of any misdemeanour? The Archbishop replied, that no crime had been laid to his charge;—that they had only done what they knew to be their duty to do, and would not repeal their ordinance. On hearing this from the Archbishop, Wilfrid exclaimed, "Then I appeal to the see of Rome for redress." This appeal, appeared so singular and ridiculous, that the whole court burst into a peal of laughter at him; for the Pope of Rome was not then acknowledged as having any authority over the British churches. Notwithstanding the manner in which the court treated his appeal to the

Pope, he soon convinced them that he was in earnest, for having collected a prodigious crowd of monks and other dependants, he set out on his journey to Rome, where his appeal was most graciously attended to by the Pope and council, who without making any further inquiry into the merits of his case, at once acquitted him of all charges, "certain and uncertain," and passed a decree to expel the new Bishops, and restore him to all his honours and emoluments.

After the departure of Wilfrid, Bishop Bosa was appointed to the see of York; Tunbert, to the new see of Hexham; and Trumwin, at Abercorn, a new see which was then within the kingdom of Northumbria.

As soon as Wilfrid had received the decree of the Pope, (Agatho,) he hastened back into England in triumph, and delivered the Pope's mandate to Egfrid, King of Northumbria, who summoned a council of his nobility and Clergy, to consult on the subject of its contents. The general sentiment of the assembly was, that nothing could be more offensive and insulting to both the civil and ecclesiastical governors of the land, than the bringing over Bulls from a foreign power, to annul those acts, which had been passed for the civil and religious advantage

of the nation; and that he who had done it deserved a punishment little less than capital. The King, with the advice of his council, immediately ordered Wilfrid to be taken into custody, and for nearly a year was kept a close prisoner. The time had not yet arrived, when the roaring of the Pope's Bulls could shake the thrones of the most potent Monarchs in Europe, and bring paleness into the cheeks of the most courageous Kings that were seated on them.

About this time the Pope sent his legate into England, to inquire into the sentiments of the English churches concerning the heresy of the Monothelites, which at that time violently agitated many of the churches.—This heresy was founded by Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, in Arabia. Its leading doctrines were, First, "That although there were two natures in Christ, yet there was but one will; for the manhood in Christ was so united to the word, that though it had its faculties, it did not act by itself, but the act was to be ascribed to the word which gave it the motion." Second, "They maintained further, that it was the manhood of Christ that suffered hunger, thirst, and all sorts of pain; but all these were to be ascribed unto the word as the cause." This heresy was condemned in a council held at Constanti-

nople, A. D. 680. To satisfy the Pope on this point, Archbishop Theodore summoned a synod to meet at Hatfield, September 15th, A. D. 680; in which was drawn up a confession of the faith of the church of England, to be transmitted to Rome; from which it appears, that the church was then not only free from the Monothean heresy, but perfectly orthodox.

The Archbishop, in following up his plan of dividing the large bishoprics, erected four new ones in the kingdom of Mercia, namely, Worcester, Leicester, Hereford, and Sydnacester.*

After Wilfrid had been confined in prison nearly a year, he obtained his liberty through the intercession of Æbbe, the King's Aunt, (who at that time was Abbess of Coldingham abby;) on condition of his immediately quitting the Northumbrian territories.

Wilfrid, in compliance with the King's terms, quitted Northumbria, and went into Mercia, where a lot of land had been given him to found a monastery; but he had little more than laid the foundation, when King Ethelred sent orders for him to quit his dominions without further notice. He next went to the West Saxons, but the report of his character having arrived before him, Ketwin the King, would not allow him to

* Higden. Polyehron, vide Henry, vol. 3, p. 211.

settle in any part of his kingdom. He then fled into Sussex, which was unconverted to Christianity. Here he met with a very kind reception from Ethelwalch the King, and his Queen Æbœ, who were not unacquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel, and anxious for the conversion of their pagan subjects. An afflictive providence contributed to the promotion of their design. The inhabitants were at that time suffering under the effects of a severe famine; when Wilfrid and his monks, taught the people an improved method of catching fish, which not only afforded them a seasonable relief, but disposed them to attend his preaching, and great numbers of them were converted to the Christian faith. The success of his ministry was not confined to the suffering poor, but by his learning, eloquence, and insinuating address, assisted by the influence of the King and Queen, he prevailed on many of the nobility to embrace the Christian religion.

To reward Wilfrid for his labours, the King bestowed upon him a considerable tract of country in the peninsula of Selsey, with all the cattle and slaves upon it; where he built a monastery, and founded a Bishop's see, which was afterwards removed to Chichester. During his abode in these parts, Wilfrid was made instrumental in convert-

ing the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and obtained for the King, a grant of the third part of that island. "In this manner" (says Dr. Henry) "was the last of the seven Saxon states in England brought into the bosom of the Christian church, about ninety years after the arrival of Augustine, and a little before the end of the seventh century."

Wilfrid's success in preaching to the South Saxons, so far gained upon the good Archbishop Theodore, that with the consent of King Aldfrid, (who ascended the throne of Northumbria after the death of his brother Egfrid, who was killed in a battle with the Picts, May 21, A. D. 685.) he was permitted to return into the north, in the latter end of the year A. D. 686.

About the time of Wilfrid's return, St. Cuthbert retired from his see at Lindisfarne, in order to die in the Isle of Farne, and the administration of that see was committed to Wilfrid, which he held till Eadbert was promoted to it in the year A. D. 688.

In the year A. D. 690, died the pious Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his pontificate.

Theodore was a man of strong mental powers; prudent in forming his plans, and prompt in their execution; and has justly

been considered as one of the greatest men that ever filled the chair of Canterbury. It was during his episcopacy that the large bishoprics were divided, and several new ones erected;—these were subdivided into parishes;—great men were encouraged to build churches, by declaring them and their successors patrons of those churches;—a regular provision was made for the support of the clergy, by a certain tax upon the inhabitants, from which the most obscure village was not exempted. By his wise regulations and prudent conduct, he brought the English churches into such uniformity in discipline and worship, that they formed a regular compact body, furnished with a competent number of Bishops and inferior Clergy under their Metropolitan the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The death of Theodore was a loss severely felt by the English churches, as it took place at a time when the Romanists were exerting all their influence to establish the supremacy of the Pope, which undue assumption of spiritual power, the Archbishop most zealously endeavoured to prevent. He chose none of the new Bishops he ordained from the friends of Rome, but such as were either the disciples of Aidan, or monks from the English monasteries.

After the return of Wilfrid to the kingdom of Northumberland, he was entrusted with a temporary jurisdiction over the see of Lindisfarne, until Eadbald was promoted there A. D. 688, when Wilfrid was appointed to the vacant see of Hexham, to which (if Eddius be correct) the King afterwards added the see of York, and the monastery at Ripon. But such was the unbounded ambition of this proud prelate, that he not only refused to sign the canons of the councils held at Hartford, and Hatfield, but he became so clamorous in urging his claims to those immense possessions which he had when he was the sole Bishop of the Northumbrian kingdom, that King Alfrid was provoked to expel him a second time out of his dominions; upon which he retired into Mercia, under the protection of King Ethelred, who put him in possession of the vacant see of Leicester.

Alfrid was one of the most wise, peaceable, and pious Kings that ever sat on the Northumbrian throne. He governed his subjects with justice, and on his neighbour's rights, he attempted no encroachments.

As it is scarcely possible for a man to make out a case as if he had been wronged of his rights, and propose a scheme for their recovery, however wild, wicked, or romantic,

but he will meet with adventurers ready to embark in the enterprise, so it was with Wilfrid; he had his partisans in different parts, who were ready to join him in any measure he might propose for the accomplishment of his object.

Whilst Alfrid felt a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace of the state; the Bishops were equally interested in the welfare of the church, which made it a matter of equal importance with both, to have the unhappy affair finally settled. To effect which, in the early part of the year A. D. 701, the King called a convocation of all the Bishops in England, and a number of the most noted Abbots, for the purpose of having the subject fairly discussed, as it evidently affected the vital interests of the nation. The synod was held in the plain of Nesterfield, near Wath, in the county of York; at which Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury presided, and the King and his council were present. The object of the synod being stated, Wilfrid was called before them; but instead of answering to the charge of having broken the laws of the church, he assumed the air of a superior, and arraigned their conduct by asking how they durst for the space of twenty-two years, oppose the authority of the Papal power, by acting

upon the decrees of Theodore in opposition to those of Popes Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius; and positively refused either to subscribe to the canons of the church, or submit to any trial or sentence but what were in favour of his own demands; and declared, that if they were not granted him, he would again appeal to the Pope. The King was so incensed at his arrogance in threatening to appeal to the Pope, that had not the Archbishop interfered, who had promised him a safe return into Mercia, he would forthwith have been visited with condign punishment. However, the synod did not permit him to pass with impunity, for he was inhibited from the exercise of his episcopal functions, and deprived of all his preferments except the abby at Ripon, which was left him for a retreat; and in case of non-submission he was to be excommunicated.

This sentence involved Wilfrid and his Clergy in the most serious difficulties. They were avoided by all ranks in society as people cast off from the body of the church, and such was the execration in which both he and his Clergy were held, that if any of them made the sign of the cross on the dishes upon a table, (a ceremony then used before meat,) they were immediately thrown

to the dogs.* Wilfrid, finding himself shunned by his former associates, and his conduct universally detested, he again returned into Mercia, in order to discover what impression these proceedings had made on the mind of King Ethelred. After complaining to that Prince of the injustice which had been done him, he earnestly requested to know, whether or not, he designed to deprive him of the revenues of the Bishopric and monasteries which he had given him in his dominions? To which he received this favourable answer, "That he would not deprive him of those revenues, until the final sentence of the Pope was known." Encouraged by this assurance, he again quitted the country and hastened to Rome, where he arrived A. D. 702; and, falling upon his knees presented his petition to the Pope, addressed "To the Apostolic Lord, the thrice-blessed and universal Bishop, Pope John," and couched in the most flattering and artful terms. Wilfrid was most graciously received, and he with all his followers were lodged and entertained at the public expense. The Archbishop also sent deputies to Rome to defend the sentence of the synod, but they were not received with equal marks of favour. These deputies ac-

* Eddii Vita Wilfredi, vide Henry, vol. 3, page 218.

cused Wilfrid, of refusing to subscribe the canons of the two synods of Hartford and Hatfield; to which he replied, that he was willing to subscribe the canons of those synods, as far as they were agreeable to the canons of the church of Rome, and the will of the Pope. The deputies accused him further, of being guilty of refusing to submit to the sentence of his Metropolitan and his Bishops in the synod of Nesterfield, and of appealing to a foreign judge; which, by the laws of England was a capital crime. But though this was a crime in England, it appeared to the Pope a most meritorious act. After both parties had pleaded their cause at full length, and the Pope with a council which was then sitting, had taken some time to consider of it, a day was appointed for pronouncing sentence. When that day arrived, the Pope appeared in great state, surrounded by the council of Bishops; and both parties being present, he pronounced his sentence by reversing that of the synod of Nesterfield, and declaring Wilfrid entirely innocent of all the crimes laid to his charge.*

The Pope furnished Wilfrid with letters to Ethelred, King of Mercia, and Alfrid, King of Northumbria, containing his sen-

* Henry Hist. of Eng. vol. 3, Art. relig.

tence, and requiring them to put him in possession of all his livings. During Wilfrid's absence, King Ethelred had retired into the convent of Bardney, who received the Pope's letter with all the submission that might be expected from a royal monk, and recommended the same to his successor Kendred. The Pope's letters produced a reconciliation between Brightwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wilfrid; but he did not find it so easy to treat with Alfrid King of the Northumbrians, who was justly esteemed the wisest and most learned Prince of the age; who, regardless of the papal sentence, would not permit Wilfrid to enter his dominions. "The time had not yet arrived (says Young, in his History of Whitby,) when the decrees of Popes and Cardinals could agitate mighty nations; and when the thunders of the vatican could shake the thrones of potent Princes." Wilfrid knew well, the nerve of the King with whom he had to contend, and durst not approach his presence without previous permission. To obtain the King's consent, Wilfrid sent two of his most venerable Clergy to the court, but no sooner was Alfrid made acquainted with the object of their visit, than he positively refused to hear a word from them on that subject. From the above statements it

is evident, that the wisest and best of men both in the church and state, manfully opposed the introduction of Papal domination into this country, being aware of the evils it would bring along with it.

The death of this excellent Prince Alfrid, which took place at Driffield December 14th, A. D. 704, was followed by the most unhappy convulsions, both in the civil and religious state of that kingdom. Alfrid's oldest son being too young to ascend the throne when his father died, the succession was disputed, which Eadwulf taking advantage of, got possession of the crown. Wilfrid thought this a favourable opportunity for him to approach the throne and present his claims, but Eadwulf gave positive orders for him to quit the kingdom in six days on pain of death.

The reign of Eadwulf, like most usurpers was but short. The diadem only decorated his brow about two months before he was deposed, when Osrid the eldest son of Alfrid, a boy about eight years old, was proclaimed King of the Northumbrians, A. D. 705.

The sequel of this reign is a striking verification of Solomon's denunciation, *Woe to thee, O Land, when thy King is a child.* —Eccles. x. 16.

In the first year of this reign, the Archbishop of Canterbury convened a council of the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobles, with the young King at their head, for the final determination of all those disputes between Wilfrid and the King, which had agitated both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom for near forty years.

This council, which was very numerous, was held in the open air on the banks of the river Nidd, in Yorkshire, A. D. 705. The Archbishop who presided, opened the business with a motion for leave to lay before the council a copy of the Pope's sentence in favour of Wilfrid, with his letter to the late King Alfrid, requiring the restitution of his dignities and possessions in Northumberland, with which that Prince had not complied; and asked the members of the council, what they thought was most proper to be done in order to put an end to these long and unhappy disputes?

This proposition no man durst have made in the presence of the late wise and prudent Prince; but Wilfrid had found means to bring over to his interest the prime minister Berechfrid, who was not only the guardian, but governor of the young King. The Bishops roundly opposed the repeal of those acts which were passed unanimously in the

synod of Nesterfield, and gave it as their opinion, that the Pope of Rome had no right to revoke the sentence of an English synod, or to lay any commands on an English King.—But Berechfrid pretended to have made a vow, during the reign of the late usurper, that, if the Lord would restore the throne to the King, its rightful heir, he would support the dying intentions of the late King who, as he said, informed him in his last moments, that if the Lord had prolonged his life, he would have restored Wilfrid to his possessions.

Berechfrid was joined in the debate by Ælfleda, the sister of Alfrid, and Abbess of Streoneshalh, (Whitby) who addressed the council as follows :—"Without any preamble, I produce the last will of my brother, to which I was a witness; certifying, that, if he should recover, he would perform the orders of the apostolic see; but, if death prevented him from fulfilling them himself, he left the performance of them to his heir."

This speech produced a powerful effect upon the lay part of the assembly, but the Bishops were well aware that it was all a Romish contrivance. After a long and cool deliberation, this tedious affair was compromised as follows, without acknowledging the authority of the papal decree :—that

John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham,* be translated to the vacant see of York; and Wilfrid, to have the see of Hexham, and the monastery of Ripon. The day of this adventurous prelate was now drawing fast to its close, for he died in his monastery at Oundle in Northamptonshire, in the year A. D. 709, and was buried with great pomp at his abby of Ripon, about four years after he was restored to the above livings.

Wilfrid was one of the most extraordinary characters of the age. He was graceful in his person, engaging in his manners, learned, eloquent, and regular in his conduct, which gained him many powerful friends; but all these attractive qualities, were more than counterbalanced by his am-

* Wilfrid is said to have been the founder of nine Minsters, of which that at Hexham was then considered the most magnificent edifice on this side the Alps. The dimensions of this elegant place are represented to be of great magnitude, both as to the length and height of the walls. It was built of polished stones, and had various chapels and oratories appended to it, both above and under ground. It is described by William of Malmsbury, as being "supported on columns of squared, varied, well polished stones. The walls themselves, with the capitals of those columns by which the walls were supported, as also the covered ceiling of the sanctuary he decorated with histories, statues, and various figures, projecting in sculpture from the stone, with grateful variety of pictures, and with wonderful beauty of colours." This stately building has attracted the admiration of the Italians, who considered it as rivaling the sacred edifices at Rome. The writer of these Sketches examined the standing remains of this ancient and magnificent structure, in May, 1825; and allowing for the delapidations made by the wasting hand of time, since the days of Malmsbury, that his descriptions were not at all exaggerated.

bitious, restless, and inflexible spirit which raised him up many, and no less powerful enemies, and involved both himself and his country in perpetual broils.

From about this time may be traced, a visible change for the worst in the British churches. Their buildings were made more neat and commodious;—their Clergy more pompous, and their worship more splendid than were those plain and pointed expositions of the Scriptures, accompanied with such powerful appeals to the divine Being, as marked the public ministry of such holy men as Aidan and his disciples, and produced such happy effects in the hearts and lives of their hearers. In vain may such effects be looked for under the trumpery of the Romish ritual, though chanted with all due form, and mechanical exactness. What is styled by the Roman Catholics abroad *La Petite Religion;* was now rising into popularity in this country; such as, miraculous cures wrought by holy water;—holy oil;—holy salt;—holy bread, &c. Dreams, visions, and apparitions were made the ground of new doctrines, such as purgatory with prayers and masses for the dead. The high repute into which relicks of saints soon rose in the churches, introduced a devotion totally unknown among the followers of the pious

Aidan and his colleagues, who as Bede informs us, "diligently observed no other works of piety and purity, than what they could learn from the prophets, the gospels, and the apostolical epistles."

As the Romish influence prevailed, its deteriorating effects among all classes of society became awfully visible in the English churches. The mind having received a false bias, by being directed to look at other objects than Jesus Christ for salvation, the inquirers after happiness were sent to wander in the most wild and romantic search for that invaluable treasure. Pilgrimages to Rome, and retiring into monasteries, were the order of the day among the most exalted ranks of society. Coinred King of Mercia laid down his sceptre, and took up the pilgrim's staff, A. D. 709, and travelled on foot to Rome accompanied by Offa, a young Prince of the royal family of the East-Saxons, where they both became monks. Not long after, their example was followed by Ina, the victorious King of the West-Saxons, who ended his days in a cloister at Rome, where he founded a house for the entertainment of Engish pilgrims, and the education of youth.*

It was popish policy to encourage pilgrimages to Rome, as it greatly increased

* Bede L. v. c. 19, vide Henry Hist. vol. 3, p. 222.

both the revenues and influence of the Pope; to facilitate which he got the pilgrims exempted from all toll, or duties on what they carried with them when visiting the holy city. This gave rise to a very singular kind of smuggling, which for a time was carried on by the English *merchant* pilgrims.

The Emperor Charlemagne had imposed certain customs or duties on all kinds of merchandise imported into his dominions, and appointed officers in all his ports for collecting these customs. To evade these duties, some English merchants put on the habits of pilgrims, and pretended they were travelling to Rome on a religious account, and that their bales contained nothing but provisions and necessaries for their journey, which were exempted from paying any duty. But the collectors of the customs, have in all ages, been a race of that kind of unbelieving men, whose faith must be founded upon ocular proof; on opening the packages of these pilgrims, and finding them to contain merchant-goods, either seized them, or imposed a heavy fine upon their owners. This gave rise to a warm controversy on the subject between Offa King of Mercia, on behalf of his subjects, and the Emperor; when the subject was finally settled by the following article which Alcuin got inserted in the treaty.

"All strangerr who pass through our domi-
"nions to visit the thresholds of the blessed
"Apostles, for the love of God and the sal-
"vation of their souls, shall be allowed to
"pass without paying any toll or duty; but
"such as only put on the habit of pilgrims,
"and under that pursue their traffic and
"merchandise, must pay the legal duties at
"the appointed places. It is also our will,
"that all merchants shall enjoy the most per-
"fect security for their persons and effects
"under our protection, and according to our
"command; and if any of them are op-
"pressed or injured, let them appeal to us
"or our judges, and they shall obtain the
"most ample satisfaction."

After the death of Wilfrid, the churches in the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy enjoyed so much internal peace, that for many years they furnish but few materials of sufficient importance to be recorded here, especially, as we do not intend to give a list of all the names and successions of all the Bishops in the several sees, which would swell the work beyond its intended bounds, with matter that would only be interesting to few.

The venerable Bede concludes his excellent history of the English church A.D. 731, at which time he tells us it was governed by

sixteen Bishops, who had their seats at the following places:—Canterbury, Rochester, London, Dunwich, Helmham, Winchester, Sherburn, Litchfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, Sydnacester, York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Withern.* There was no Bishop at that time in the kingdom of Sussex, but Sigelm was consecrated Bishop of Selsey a few years after, which made the number of Bishops in England, before the middle of the eight century seventeen.†

The most interesting character of the age in which he lived was the venerable Bede. This great man was born A. D. 672, or 673, probably, at or near a village called Gibside, on the north side of the river Derwent, a few miles west of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; where may be seen several eminences that bear his name, being called Bede's hills. Of the rank and condition of his parents we have no certain information, but that they were piously disposed, no doubt can be entertained from their anxious solicitude about the religious education of their son, for at the tender age of seven years he was sent to the monastery of St. Peter at Wearmouth, where he was initiated in the first rudiments of literature, and trained up to the austere dicipline of the cloister, to the most rigid

* Ibid. † Goodwin de Præsul. p. 548, extr. Henry.

rules of which he undeviatingly conformed to the day of his death. After a few years residence at Wearmouth, he was removed to Jarrow, and committed to the care of the pious Ceolfrid. Thus like another Samuel, he was from infancy consecrated to God; and being sheltered within the precincts of the sanctuary, he daily increased in wisdom and favour both with God and man. At the age of nineteen he was presented by his Abbot to Deacon's orders, and was ordained by John of Beverley, Bishop of Hexham.

After his ordination he continued his studies with almost unparalleled application, generally spending twenty hours out of every twenty-four, in acts of devotion, reading, writing, and teaching; and such was the proficiency he made, that his fame spread far and wide, and brought a number of the most distinguished characters of the age to pursue their studies under him. Among the most illustrious of his pupils was Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, who acknowledged that it was to the school of Bede he was principally indebted for his extensive erudition. In the year A. D. 702, when in the thirtieth year of his age, he was ordained Priest by the same John of Beverley, then Archbishop of York. As his studies comprehended the general circle of science, his writ-

ings were multifarious and voluminous, having published as he states in the close of his own life, thirty-six volumes, containing seventy-eight books. Though he lived in all the retirement of monastic seclusion, the fame of his learning spread over Europe, and excited such an interest at Rome, that Pope Sergius addressed a letter to his Abbot Ceolfrid, desiring him to send Bede to Rome; but the death of Sergius happening soon after, Bede never took a journey to that city.

From his never having accepted any preferment above that of an unbeneficed Priest, and the faithful manner in which he wrote to Egbert Archbishop of York, respecting the abuses which were spreading in the church, we may infer his singular moderation and fidelity. The growing evil of which he wrote to the Archbishop, arose out of the following cause. As the church possessions were exempt from all secular burdens, several of the nobility had obtained licences to erect monasteries, which they supplied with their own guards and attendants, and such monks as had been expelled from other monasteries for bad conduct. Here being free from all martial and civil offices, they indulged in all the excesses of luxury and

indolence; so that their monasteries might be called any thing but religious houses.

He states in his letter that these evils had existed upwards of thirty years, and were then spreading to an alarming extent. He further informed the Bishop, that there were many towns and villages, that for years were never visited by a Minister to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity.--That "there are some Bishops who not only refuse to preach or confirm without hire, but, which is more criminal, who take fees which the Lord has forbidden, and neglect the ministry of the word which he has commanded." He told him also, that, "it is commonly reported of some Bishops, that they have none for their companions who are men of any religion or sobriety; but rather such as are given to laughter and mirth, to rioting and drunkenness, and all the pleasures of a dissolute life; and who are more disposed to be daily feeding their belly with dainties than their minds with heavenly feasts." He then suggested some remedies, to check the spread of such vile inormities, which would otherwise bring destruction on the whole land;—and exhorted him to a vigorous exertion of his episcopal power by a pointed appeal to his conscience, founded upon his awful re-

sponsibilities, and the obligation he was under of obeying God rather than man.

A life so uniformly devoted to acts of piety, from such motives as actuated the breast of Bede, could not fail to fortify the mind with an effectual antidote against the fear of death. In such a happy state of mind did the venerable Bede close his mortal career.

The particulars of his last affliction and death, are minutely detailed by his disciple Cuthbert, in a letter to Cuthwin one of his former companions, from which the following particulars are extracted. The first symptoms of his disorder were a difficulty of breathing, with total loss of appetite and constant sickness, which confined him to his bed; yet he neither omitted his devotional exercises, or literary avocations. On the contrary, as his bodily strength decreased, his mind seemed to acquire new energy and vigor. Day and night he was breathing out his soul unto God in prayer, praise and thanksgiving; having attained to what the Apostle enjoins, *Pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks.*

From the commencement of his affliction he believed it would be unto death; and being engaged with a translation of the gospel by St. John into the Anglo-Saxon, for the

benefit of those who did not understand the original languages, he was very anxious to have it finished. The day before that on which he died, he urged his pupils to write whilst he was able to dictate, saying, "Go on quickly; I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Master will soon take me away." The following morning he again pressed them to exert their utmost endeavours to finish the work. In the afternoon one of them said, "Dear Master, there is still one chapter wanting; do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions? He replied, "It is no trouble to me, take your pen and write speedily what yet remains unfinished."

About three o'clock in the afternoon, he sent for all the Priests in the monastery to come to his apartment. He then addressed them individually, and then exhorted them to a faithful discharge of their ministerial functions, by the certainty and solemnity of death, and the dread account they must give at the day of Judgment. The solemn address of the dying saint affected them all very much, nor could they suppress their tears when he told them they should see his face no more in this world. He then repeated a saying of St. Ambrose, which he applied to himself;—"I have not lived so as to be

ashamed to live among you; nor do I fear to die, because we have a good God;"—to which he added, "I have served a kind Master, and now, I long to be with Christ, that I may see him face to face in his glory." He continued in this strain of pious and heavenly discourse till evening, when one of his disciples said, "Dear master, there is one sentence not yet written." He replied, "Then write it quickly." Soon after the young man said, "The sentence is written." "Truly" exclaimed the dying saint, "It is finished. Hold my head in thy hands, for it is a great satisfaction for me to sit facing the holy place in which I have been accustomed to pray; there let me invoke my Father." He was then taken out of his bed and placed on the pavement of his cell, with his face toward the altar; and his head being supported between the hands of his attendant, he sung, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and immediately expired, on Wednesday May 26th, A. D. 735, in the sixty-third year of his age. His mortal remains were interred in St. Paul's church at Jarrow; but in the year A. D. 1020, they were removed to Durham, and deposited in the same shrine with the body of St. Cuthbert. In the year A. D. 1155, they were removed by Bishop

Hugh, to a separate shrine of curious workmanship, in a small chapel at the west end of the cathedral, where is an ancient marble monument said to be the tomb of Bede.

The private cell, or study of Bede, was entire in the days of Leland, who describes it as a building "low in its pitch, small in its size, and vaulted in its roof; containing an altar with a piece of serpentine marble inlaid in its front." In the church at Jarrow is still preserved the mutilated remains of an oaken chair, said to be the one in which Bede used to sit, and is still called by his name. In its perfect state it was of the plainest workmanship, but it has suffered most from a superstitious custom which still prevails, which is, for every new married couple, to cut a chip off Bede's chair to ensure them prosperity. It now stands in the vestry, where it bears evident marks of the rudest treatment, as may be seen from the annexed drawing taken on the spot, August 25th, 1825.

We have given a more detailed account of Bede, as his life seems to include the connecting age between primative Christianity, and the corruptions of Popery in Britain.—Though some of his writings are deeply tinctured with the Romish superstitions, yet in his religious experience and death, there

is no mention made of any intercessor but the *One Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* When he found himself dying and sent for the Priests of the monastery to visit him, it was not for them to anoint him with the oil of extreme unction, to fit him for his passage to a better world; but, that they might see how a saint could meet death, and learn from his dying lips, those duties which in virtue of their office they were bound to perform. His translation of St. John's Gospel, is not only one of the first accounts we have of any vernacular version of the Scriptures in Britain; but it proves that Bede had no desire to keep the word of God locked up in a foreign language. He considered the Word of God, as the source from whence all the principles of true wisdom were to be derived, and to assist the pious in their inquiry after truth, he wrote comments on several of the principal books of the Old and New Testaments, which are still extant.

CHAPTER V.

The state of Northumbria after the death of Alfrid.—Archbishop Cuthbert calls a Council.—Opposition to the Pope's supremacy.—Interring in Church-Yards.—Winfrid, or Boniface's life.—Death of Cuthbert.—Quarrel about his body.—Lambert chosen Archbishop.—Liefuvyn Villehad, and Rumold, missionaries.—Litchfield made an Archbishop's see.—Council of Calcuith.—Controversy about images.—Canons of the Council of Nice opposed by the English Bishops.—Sale of Relicks.—Offa King of Mercia visits Rome.—His death.—Kenulph returns the Metropolitical authority from Litchfield to Canterbury.

After the death of Alfrid, the throne of Northumbria was occupied by a succession of Sovereigns whose reigns were of short duration. Osred was killed in the nineteenth year of his age, and was succeeded by Kenred, the second son of Alfrid; who after a reign of two years died and left his throne to Osric; and on the 7th of March, A. D. 729, he died, and was succeeded by Ceolwulf the brother of Kenred, to whom the crown of right belonged. This Prince pursued his studies under the venerable Bede, and the religious turn of mind which he imbibed in early life, had a sensible in-

fluence on all the acts of his reign. He possessed none of that spirit of martial enterprise which had so often involved the country in the most sanguinary wars. He loved peace and pursued it, and a portion of the same spirit seems to have pervaded the neighbouring nations, for during the latter part of his reign, the kingdom enjoyed all the blessings of a settled peace for several years. This was followed with such a complete revolution in the national character, that the Northumbrians, who had long been considered the most noted warriors of any kingdom in the Heptarchy, lost all their military spirit, and nothing was so popular among the higher ranks of society as a monastic life.

The King himself set the example, for in the year A. D. 737, he resigned his crown to Eadbert, and retired into the monastery of Lindisfarne, where he spent the last twenty years of his life as a monk. His successor followed his father's example, for after a reign of twenty years, he resigned his throne to his son Oswulf, A. D. 758, and retired into a convent where he spent the last ten years of his life.

Wilfrid the *second*, Bishop of York, died A. D. 731, and was succeeded by Egbert, brother to Eadbert King of Northumberland.

This prelate, by his royal birth and great merit, recovered the dignity of a Metropolitan, which had been enjoyed by Paulinus the first Bishop of York, and obtained a pall from Rome as a badge of that dignity.

Nothelmus, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying A. D. 740, Cuthbert Bishop of Hereford was translated to that see. An intimate friendship had long subsisted between Cuthbert and his countryman Winfred,* who had assumed the name of *Boniface*, and was become Archbishop of Mentz. As soon as Boniface received the news of the advancement of his friend to the primacy of England, he wrote him a very long letter, in which after many professions of esteem and friendship, and most vehement exhortations to the faithful discharge of the duties of his high office, he points out several things in the state of the Church of England which required reformation; —particularly the gaudy dress and intemperate lives of the Clergy; —the sacrilege of great men in seizing the government of monasteries, and obliging the monks to perform the most servile work in building their castles, &c. a thing unknown in any other part of the Christian world.— He exhorts him also to put a stop to the nuns, and other good ladies of England,

* For a more particular account, see the mission of Boniface.

leaving their country, and going in pilgrimage to Rome; because they were generally debauched before they returned, and many of them became common prostitutes in the cities of France and Italy. To remedy all these evils, he advised him to call a council, and for his direction sends him a copy of the canons of a synod, which had been lately held at Mentz, in which he had presided in quality of the Pope's legate. For as Boniface had received his preferment in the church by the favour of the Pope, he was a zealous advocate for his supremacy, and had contributed very much to bring the churches of Germany under the obedience of the see of Rome; and seems to wish that his friend Cuthbert would act the same part in England.*

Cuthbert in conformity with the advice of Boniface, convened a council of the Bishops and principal Clergy of his province, and Edelbald King of Mercia, with all the great men of his court, a number of Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and other Clergy, which met at Cloveshoos, or Clyff, in Kent, A.D. 747. In this council, no fewer than thirty canons were made for the reformation of the lives of the Clergy of all ranks, and the regulations of all the affairs of the church

* Spelm. Concil. t. 1. p. 237. extr. Henry, vol. 3. p. 224.

of England. Though several of the canons of this council, were taken from those of the council of Mentz transmitted by Boniface, they contain many wise and judicious regulations, considering the age in which they were made.

The alteration which the council of Cloveshoos made in the canon concerning the "unity of the church," is worthy of our particular attention, as it shews that the heads of the English nation, both civil and ecclesiastical, were alive to the evils connected with admitting the supremacy of the Pope of Rome.

The canon of the council of Mentz on this subject runs thus:—"We have agreed in our synod in the confession of the Catholic faith, and agreed to continue in unity and subjection to the church of Rome; and desire to be subject to St. Peter and his Vicar, to the end of our lives, that we may be esteemed members of that church committed to St. Peter's care."* But the canon of the council of Cloveshoos, was expressed in the following general terms, without mentioning either the church or Bishop of Rome:—"That sincere love and Christian unity and affection, ought to be amongst all the Clergy in the world, in deed and judg-

* Lab. Concil t. 6, col. 1544, ibid.

ment, (without flattery of any one's person) as the servants of one Lord, and fellow-labourers in the same gospel: so that, however seperated by the distance of place, they may notwithstanding be united in the same judgment, and serve God in one spirit, in the same faith, hope, and charity; daily praying for each other, that every one may faithfully persevere to the end, in the discharge of his holy function."*

On the language of this canon Dr. Henry remarks, "that the Clergy of England were not as yet disposed to bend their necks to the intolerable and ignominious yoke of Rome." And, as a further guard against the encroachments of the Pope on the independency of the church of England, the twenty-fifth canon prohibits all English Bishops applying to Rome for advice in difficult cases, and directs them to apply only to their own Metropolitan in a provincial synod.

By the canons of this council, Bishops are directed to visit all parts of their dioceses once every year, for preaching and performing the other duties of their sacred function:—to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the inferior Clergy, the greatest part of whom still lived in monasteries; and to be

* Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 246. vide Henry.

careful in examining into the morals and learning of those whom they admitted into holy orders. Abbots are commanded to take care that the Clergy in their respective houses, should be studious, sober, and decent in their dress and deportment. The Clergy are enjoined to be diligent in visiting, preaching, and baptizing; to learn to construe in their own language, the creed and Lord's prayer, and the words used in the celebration of mass, and in the office of baptism. The people are exhorted, to get the creed and Lord's prayer by heart,—to the religious observation of the Lord's day, —to frequent communion, to confession, fasting, and almsgiving.

The twenty-seventh canon contains some singular directions to the common people who did not understand Latin, about their joining in the public prayers and songs of the church, which were all in that language: in particular, they are allowed to affix in their own minds any meaning to the words they pleased, and to pray in their hearts for any thing they wanted, however foreign it might be from the real sense of the public prayers.* This says the Doctor, is "a curious salve for the absurd practice of praying in an unknown tongue!" This canon also contains

* Ibid. page 227.

the following short prayer for the dead :— "Lord, according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to *his* soul, and for thy infinite pity vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints."

The custom of interring the dead in church-yards was first introduced in the days of Pope Gregory. Before his time the dead had been usually interred near the highways, according to the Roman laws, and Christian congregations had their burial places remote from the city. But in Gregory's time the Priests and monks began to offer prayers for the deceased, and receive gifts from the relations for the performance of these services; on which account these ecclesiastics requested leave of Gregory, that the dead might be interred near the places of the monks abode, or in the churches or monasteries, that the relations might have a better opportunity of joining in the funeral devotions. The custom of interring in the church-yards was first introduced into England by Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 750, on which Milner in his Church History makes the following remark :—"The practice is in itself, certainly innocent, though founded in superstition, and may serve to mark the progress of the doctrine of purgatory, and the avarice of the ecclesiastics, connected with

it; above all, of men's departure from the doctrine of justification by faith, which if it had been retained by the church, would have effectually excluded these abominations. While men trusted in Christ alone for salvation, they had no temptation to the false refuge of prayers for the departed. In the article of death they committed their souls and bodies to their Saviour; but when they removed their dependence from the true foundation of a sinner's hope, they were tortured with doubts and fears, and departing in uncertainty, were left to the charity of their friends to help out by their prayers, their supposed defect of merit."

Few countries ever produced a more zealous missionary than Wilfrid, (changed by the Pope for Boniface) who was born at Kirton in Devonshire, about the year A. D. 680. He spent his youth as a Monk in the monastery of Nutcell, in the diocess of Winchester, which the Danes destroyed and was never rebuilt. Having made considerable proficiency in the learning of the times, at the age of thirty he was ordained Priest on the recommendation of his Abbot. In the year A. D. 716, Winfrid, with other two monks, undertook a mission to Friezeland, where one Willibrod had spent some time in preaching to the pagans. On their arrival

they found the door shut against them by Ratbod, King of the Frisons, who had cast off his profession of Christianity, and re-established paganism among his subjects. Winfrid finding no other opening for preaching the gospel at that time, returned to his monastery in England. Soon after his return, on the death of their Abbot, the society would have elected Winfrid for their Abbot, but being still intent upon his mission to the pagans, he refused to accept the presidency.

Having obtained recommendatory letters from the Bishop of Winchester, he went to Rome, A. D. 719, and presented himself to Pope Gregory II. expressing his ardent desire to be employed in the conversion of the infidels. The Pope approved of his pious purpose and on his return gave him an unlimited commission.

His first missionary excursion was into Bavaria, where he reformed some abuses that had crept into the churches in that kingdom. He next went into Thuringa, where he became very successful in the conversion of infidels, and also in reclaiming others who had fallen into gross sins, after having been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity.

Whilst labouring here, he was delighted to learn that the door which had been shut against his first attempt to preach the gospel in Friezeland, was now opened by the death of King Ratbod. Thither he directed his course as the most favourite field for his missionary exertions, and for three years was the zealous and indefatigable colleague of Willibrod, whose united labours were greatly owned of God, to the subduing of idolatry and the enlargement of the church of Christ. Willibrod finding his bodily strength declining through old age, felt anxious to engage Winfrid as his successor, but Gregory having previously expressed his wish for him to preach in the Eastern parts of Germany, he felt himself bound to perform his promise. On his return to Rome, Winfrid was kindly received by Gregory II. and was consecrated Bishop of the new German churches, by the name of Boniface.—On this subject Milner, in his History of the Church makes the following remark, "There seems, even in that little circumstance, something of the policy of the Roman See. A Roman name was more likely to procure from the German converts respect to the Pope, than an English one."

On his return to his mission in the East of Germany, Boniface took with him seve-

ral of his countrymen, who displayed a missionary zeal equal to his own. In the neighbourhood of Hesse, was an oak tree of a prodigious size, which had been an instrument of much pagan delusion; but Boniface, with the advice and assistance of some of his most established converts cut it down. About the year A. D. 723, Daniel Bishop of Winchester, wrote to Boniface to know his opinion on the best method of dealing with idolaters. His answer breathes so much piety and just sentiment, that we conceive no apology is necessary from giving the substance of it:—"Do not contradict," says he, "in a direct manner their accounts of the genealogy of their Gods; allow that they were born from one another in the same way as mankind are; this concession will give you the advantage of proving that there was a time when they had no existence:—Ask them, who governed the world before the birth of their gods,—ask them, if these gods have ceased to propogate. If they have not, tell them the consequence; namely, that the gods must be infinite in number, and that no man can rationally be at ease in worshipping any of them, lest he should by that means, offend one, who is more powerful.—Argue thus with them, not in the way of insult, but with temper and moderation;

and take opportunities to contrast these absurdities with the Christian doctrine :—let the pagans be rather ashamed than incensed by your oblique mode of stating these subjects ;—shew them the insufficiency of their plea of antiquity ;—inform them that idolatry did anciently prevail over the world, but that Jesus Christ was manifested, in order to reconcile men to God by his grace."

Boniface kept up a correspondence with several of his friends in England, from whence he was assisted in his missionary work with a number of the most active and zealous fellow-labourers ;—and such was the high reputation in which he was held, that his fame spread through the greatest part of Europe, and many from England poured into Germany to unite themselves with him, for the purpose of preaching the gospel through the towns and villages of Hesse and Thuringia. Boniface was created Archbishop of Mentz by Gregory III. A.D. 732, who encouraged his missionary enterprises with a zeal and liberality equal to his predecessor ; which enabled him to erect several new churches, and to establish three new Bishoprics in Bavaria,—at Saltzburg, Frisinghen, and Ratisbon.

In one of his letters to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, are these memorable

words, which shew with what ardour of soul he prosecuted his master's work, "Let us fight," says he, "for the Lord; for we live in days of affliction and anguish. Let us die, if God so please, for the laws of our fathers, that with them we may obtain the heavenly inheritance. Let us not be as dumb dogs; sleepy watchmen, or selfish hirelings, but as careful and vigilant pastors, preaching to all ranks, as far as God shall enable us, in season and out of season, as Gregory writes in his pastoral." In another of his letters to his friends in England, he mentions having had to suffer from Pagans, false Christians, and immoral Pastors; and intimates his desire of dying for the love of him who died for us.

He succeeded in suppressing a dangerous heresy propagated in Germany by Adalbert, a proud enthusiastic Frenchman, in which he was joined by one Clement a Scotchman: who taught that Christ by his descent into hell delivered the souls of the damned.

The zeal of Boniface for missionary labours, was not at all abated either with his Archiepiscopal honours and emoluments, or with his infirmities in the decline of life.—Like that "Father of missions," the late Rev. Dr. Coke, who a little before he embarked for Ceylon, being advised by his

friends not to undertake such a work at his advanced period of life; he replied, "I only live for the mission into Asia;"—so Boniface, when oppressed with age and infirmities, he resigned his Archbishopric to one Lullus, an Englishman, that he might return to his missionary labours in Friezeland. He addressed a letter to King Pepin, begging that he would shew kindness to the missionaries whom he should leave behind him. "Some of them," said he, "are Priests dispersed into divers parts, for the good of the church; others are monks, settled in small monasteries, where they instruct the children. There are aged men with me, who have long assisted me in my labours.—I fear, lest after my death, they be dispersed, and the disciples, who are near the pagan frontiers, should lose the faith of Jesus Christ. I beg that my son Lullus may be confirmed in the episcopal office, and that he may teach the Priests, the monks, and the people. I hope he will perform these duties. That which most afflicts me, is, that the Priests, who are on the pagan frontiers, are very indigent. They can obtain bread, but no clothes, unless they be assisted, as they have been by me. Let me know your answer that I may live or die with more cheerfulness."

It is most probable, that he received an answer agreeable to his request, as Lullus was appointed his successor with the consent of the King. He went by the Rhine into Friezeland, and was joined by Eoban, Bishop of Utrech, who by their united labours brought great numbers of pagans to embrace Christianity. He appointed a day to confirm those whom he had baptized; and encamped with his followers on the banks of the Bordue, a river which then divided East and West Friezeland, where he expected being joined by his new converts, whom he intended to confirm by impositing of hands in the plains of Dockum. On the morning of the appointed day, he beheld, not the new converts, but a troop of angry pagans, armed with shields and lances. The servants went out to resist, but Boniface, with calm intrepidity, said to his followers, "Children forbear to fight; the Scripture forbids us to render evil for evil. The day which I have long waited for, is come; hope in God, and he will save your souls." Thus did he prepare the Priests and the rest of his companions for martyrdom. The Pagans attacked them furiously, and slew the whole company, fifty-two in number, besides Boniface. This took place A. D. 755, in the

fortieth year after his arrival in Germany, and in the seventy-fifth year of his age.*

Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, died A. D. 758. All his predecessors had been interred by the Monks of St. Augustine, in their monastery within the walls of Canterbury, who now claimed the corps of their departed Prelates as a kind of *perquisite* to which they had a right. Cuthbert determined to deprive them of his remains; and obtained permission from Eadbert King of Kent, to be buried in his own cathedral. When he found his end approaching, he desired his domestics to have his grave ready and put his body in as soon as he expired, before they announced his death; which was faithfully performed. On hearing of the Archbishop's death, the Monks of St. Augustine came in solemn procession to take possession of his remains, but they were not a little mortified on being told, that he was already buried, and gave vent to their angry passions by calling him a rogue, a fox, a viper, and all the opprobrious names they could invent.†

Bregwin, a native of Saxony, but educated in England, succeeded Cuthbert in the archiepiscopal chair, whom he only sur-

* Milner's Church Hist. vol. 3, p. 182. † Godwin de Præsul. Aug. p. 65. ext. Henry.

vived four years, he died August 24th, A.D. 762. By his own direction, he was buried in the same place, and in the same precipitate manner with his predecessor. When Lambert, Abbot of St. Augustine's came with a number of armed men to seize the body of the Archbishop as his lawful property, and found himself anticipated a second time, he took the matter in a very serious light, and made a solemn appeal to the Pope, to interpose his authority for preventing such clandestine funerals for the future. This mighty stir about the lifeless bodies of these Prelates, may appear to us ridiculous, but they well knew what they were about; and how much it redounded to the reputation and interest of their society, to be in possession of the remains of those primates in that superstitious age, when relicks were rising into such high repute, as to become the most valuable treasures. The canons of Christ's church, who had the privilege of choosing the Archbishop, and had been concerned in smuggling their two late ones into their graves, were so much alarmed at Lambert's appeal to the Pope against them, that in order to mitigate his zeal in the cause of their rivals, they chose him to fill the vacant chair. This artful conduct had the desired

effect; Lambert was appeased, and desisted from prosecuting his appeal.*

Whilst we mark with regret, the deteriorating march of Papal influence in the English churches, which about this period began to assume an authority, and receive a servile submission to its encroachments, not before paid to a foreign power:—the churches of Britain produced a number of apostolic men, who unfettered with Romish superstitions, and burning with love to the souls of their fellow sinners, became indefatigable, and successful missionaries to the heathen, under circumstances which must immortalize their names. To those we have already noticed we shall add that of Liefuvyn, who devoted a great part of his life in preaching the gospel to the Pagans in different parts of Germany. The cold calculating theorist, may declaim against his zeal as having led him beyond the bounds of prudence, when he presented himself before an assembly of Pagan Saxons on the banks of the Weser; and cried with a loud voice for them to turn from these idols to the living God;—but the man who has felt his own heart burn with love to his Redeemer, and pity for perishing sinners, can account for such conduct on other principles, than that of a blind en-

* Ibid.

thusiastic intemperance. He announced himself an Ambassador from the Great Jehovah, and had to offer them the Gospel terms of pardon and salvation. But his zeal exposed him to the most imminent danger; for the infuriated Pagans would have taken away his life, had they not been restrained by the remonstrances of their chief Buto, who expostulated with them on the unreasonableness of treating an Ambassador of the Great God, with less respect than they would one from any of the neighbouring nations. It is probable, that Buto had felt the force of the truths delivered by Liefuvyn, for he was allowed to labour among this people till his death.

Villehad, a native of Northumberland, was an eminent missionary among the Pagan Saxons. In him was united great missionary zeal, with a meek and quiet spirit. Whilst pursuing his missionary labours, he was at one time in imminent danger of being put to death by the Pagan Frisons; but some of them being struck with his innocence, and doubting whether the religion he taught might not be divine, said, "let us cast lots whether we shall put him to death, or dismiss him." They did so, and the lot decided in his favour.

After labouring as a missionary for thirty-three years, he was ordained Bishop of Bremen, and was called the Apostle of Saxony. He began his mission in Dockum, where Boniface was murdered; and was the first Christian Missionary that passed the Elbe. Such was his love to the Scriptures, that he copied all the epistles of St. Paul, which he carried as his pocket companion. He died in Friezeland, after he had been Bishop of Bremen about two years. To his weeping friends, who surrounded him in his dying moments he said, "Withhold me not from going to God:—these sheep I recommend to him who entrusted them to me, and whose mercy is able to protect them."*

Rumold, was a native of either England, or of Ireland; he travelled as a missionary into Lower Germany, and Brabant; and was particularly useful in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, and was made an itinerant epicopal missionary. He was murdered A. D. 775, by two persons, one of whom he had reproved for adultery.†

Egbert, the first English Archbishop of York, one of the best and most learned prelates of his age, after having governed that see with great prudence for thirty-six years, died A. D. 767; and was succeeded by

* See Alban Butler, vol. xi. vide Milner. † Ibid, vol. vii.

Adelbert, of whom but little is said by the historians.

The effect of Papal influence produced a violent commotion in the English churches, while Lambert filled the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. Offa King of Mercia, was at that time the most powerful Prince of the Heptarchy; and he conceived that it was dishonourable for the Bishops of his kingdom to be under the Archbishop of Canterbury. He therefore applied to the Pope for the see of Litchfield, which was the capital of his kingdom, to be erected into an Archbishopric. Lambert opposed the execution of this design as much as possible; but the Pope was found to be not impregnable against the golden influence of Offa, and Hegbert Bishop of Litchfield, was declared an Archbishop, by Pope Adrian I. A. D. 787, and the Sees of Worcester, Hereford, Leicester, Sydnacester, Helmham, and Dunwich, were dismembered from the province of Canterbury, and put under the jurisdiction of the new Archbishop. Hegbert did not long survive his elevation, and was succeeded by Adulph, whom the Pope honoured with a pall, as the distinguishing badge of the archiepiscopal dignity.

To settle the disputes to which the creation of a new Archbishopric had given rise,

the Pope sent as his legates into England, Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophilact, Bishop of Todi. After their arrival, they waited upon Lambert Archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of the nature of their commission; part of which was to reconcile him to the dismembering of his province.

They next visited the court of Offa King of Mercia, where they had every mark of respect paid as the representatives of him, who was now beginning to exercise a sovereignty over the sovereigns of Europe.—Here the legates divided, Theophilact remaining in Mercia, to attend a general council of that kingdom, while Gregory proceeded to the court of Oswald King of Northumberland, who also called a council of the nobility and chief Clergy of his kingdom. The legates laid the canons they had brought with them from Rome, before these councils, which were unanimously approved, and subscribed by the Kings of Mercia and Northumberland, with all the chief nobility, Bishops, and Clergy of England. The acts of this council are called, *the canons of the council at Calcuith*, from the place where the Mercian synod was held, being called Calcuith.* From these canons which contain a kind of system of the ecclesiastical

*Spelm. Concil. t. I. p. 221.

politics of those times, we may mark the increase of privilege claimed by the Clergy; such as, a divine right to the tenth of all the possessions of the laity, and an exemption from being tried and punished by the civil magistrates;† in support of which several texts of Scripture are shamefully distorted. The legates found several irregularities in the English churches which they prohibited in these canons; such as, the Priests celebrating mass without shoes or stockings, and with chalices made of horn;—the Bishops sitting on the bench with the Aldermen, and judging in civil and criminal causes;—the people still retaining many pagan practices, as sorceries, divinations, &c.‡

The great controversy about the use of images in churches, and the degree of homage to be paid to them, which had violently affected the churches on the Continent for more than sixty years, began to be agitated in England towards the end of this century.

The Emperors of the East, Leo Isaurus, and his son Constantine Capronimus, exerted all their power to prevent the worship, and abolish the use of images in churches; while several succeeding Popes supported the cause of images with equal zeal. At length the subject was fairly discussed, when

† Id. Can. 11, 17. extr. Henry. ‡ Ibid, vol. 3, page 232.

both the use and adoration of images were condemned by a council of three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops, at Constantinople, A. D. 754.* Whilst the Emperors of the East were purging the churches there from the idolatry of image worship, the Popes of Rome were giving that idolatry every support.

By the death of the Emperor Leo IV. the administration fell into the hands of his widow the Empress Irene, during the minority of her son. This Princess (who was one of the worst of women) by the advice of Pope Adrian, formed the design of restoring the use and worship of images in the East. The Pope and Empress having all their matters prepared, a council was summoned to meet at Constantinople, A.D. 786, but the disturbed state of the city prevented it sitting there that year; but it met the year after at Nice. This council, (which is commonly called the second council of Nice) consisted of about one huudred and fifty Bishops, reversed the acts of the late council of Constantinople against images, and decreed both the use and adoration of them, with a few frivolous distinctions.† The acts of this council were sent by the Pope to

* Lab. Concil, t. 6. col. 1661. extr. Id. † Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. 8.

Charlemagne King of France; he put them into the hands of a select number of Bishops, who drew up an elaborate confutation of them in four books, commonly called the *Caroline* books. Charlemagne sent a copy of the canons of the council of Nice, to Offa King of Mercia, to be communicated to the English Bishops; by whom they were condemned, "as containing many things contrary to the true Catholic faith, *especially the worship of images*, which the Catholic church utterly detested and abhorred."*

The English Bishops employed their learned countryman Alcuinus, to write against this council, and transmitted his book with their own opinion to the King of France. From the above it is evident, that though images and pictures had long been used both in the churches of France and England, as ornaments, and helps to memory, these churches, at the end of the eighth century, were not arrived at that degree of folly and impiety as to pay them any kind of worship.‡

The sale of relicks was now become a gainful trade to the Clergy, and especially the monks, who were making daily discoveries of the precious remains of some departed saint, which they soon converted in-

* M. Westmr. adan. 793, Vide Henry. ‡ Ibid p. 236.

to gold and silver. In this traffic they had all the opportunities they could desire of imposing counterfeit wares upon their customers, as it was no easy matter for the laity to distinguish the great toe of a saint from that of a sinner, after it had been some centuries in the grave. The place where the body of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain lay, is said to have been discovered to Offa King of Mercia, in a vision A.D. 794, and was taken up with great pomp in the presence of three Bishops, and an immense multitude of people of all ranks, and lodged in a rich shrine adorned with gold and precious stones. To do the greater honour to the memory of the holy martyr, Offa built a stately monastery at the place where his body was found, which he called *St. Alban's*, which he endowed with extensive lands and privileges.

Offa, disgraced himself in early life by a great number of gross crimes, and his declining years were as strongly marked with a blind religious superstition.

To obtain pardon for his sins he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and paid the Pope for his absolution, the sum of three hundred and sixty-five mancusses,* being

* Mancuss is an Anglo-Saxon gold coin. that weighed 55 grains Troy, value about thirty-pence.

one mancuss for every day in the year, to be disposed of by the Pope to certain charitable and pious uses.

On the munificent grant of this doting Monarch, the Pope founded his claim of an annual tax to that amount upon the English nation, which he demanded in the most imperious manner, as a lawful tribute, and mark of subjection of the kingdom of England to the church of Rome.*

The see of Litchfield did not long enjoy the honour of being an Archbishopric;—for King Offa dying soon after his return from Rome A. D. 796, and his son Egfred in less than a year after, Kenulph, who succeeded Egfrid, was prevailed upon to restore things to their former state. Whether Kenulph was induced to perform this act by the address of Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, or from political motives (as some suppose) is not easy to determine, probably, the latter would weigh more with this Prince than the small dust of the balance, especially, as the people of Kent had lately become his tributaries, he might have no objection to gratify them by a sacrifice which cost him nothing. Whatever the King's motive might be, Adulphus, Archbishop of Litch-

* Inett's Church Hist. c. 13.

field, was again (with the consent of Pope) reduced to a private Bishop, but indulged with the empty honour of wea the pall of an Archbishop as long as lived.

CHAPTER VI.

Increase and spread of Popish influence.—Ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe.—Athelard summoned a council.—His death.—Wulfred calls a council.—Its canons.—Alcuin.—Murder of Patta, a Scotchman.—Frederic of Devonshire.—Tragical death of Cynewlf, and Brihtric, Kings of Wessex.—Reign of Egbert.—Destruction of several monasteries by the Danes.—Distresses of the Clergy.—Ethelwolf's liberality in providing for the Clergy.—His journey to Rome and presents to the Pope.—Holds a council at Winchester.—Ethelbert's short reign, is succeeded by Ethelred.—Invasions of the Danes.—Slain in battle.—Alfrid's reign.—Several battles with the Danes.—Builds churches, &c.—University at Oxford founded.—His character and death.

In general it may be observed, that every departure from the true order of things, brings its own punishment in the evils it introduces.

The monastic mania continuing to rage among all ranks of society, was attended with an awful increase of ignorance and superstition, and the neglect of every useful art. The nobility instead of studying the art of preserving their country, from the ravages of a foreign foe, were either taking pilgrimages to Rome, or seeking ease and

indulgence in the monastic cells; whilst the Priests were practising upon the credulity of the laity, by carrying on an extensive trade in relicks;—and increasing the number of holidays, and other trifling ceremonies, to the great injury of honest industry and rational religion.

The above named evils were anticipated by the venerable Bede, who foresaw the fatal effects which such a monastic frensy was calculated to produce. Nor were the fears of this venerable man the feverish forebodings of a gloomy imagination. The next age, not only saw a check put to the further spread of learning and religion, but the land inundated with the grossest immoralities, as appears from Alcuin's letters, where he says, "No body's person could be secure among them; all learning, for which the country had been so famous in the time of his master Archbishop Egbert was now neglected, the monasteries were poluted with adulteries, and the altars with perjuries."*

The influence of the Pope over the English church, continued to increase with amazing rapidity; partly, through the servile homage he received, from those who were seeking posts of honour and emolument in the church.

* Burton's Monasticon, page 22.

Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, took a journey to Rome, A. D. 801, to obtain the formal consent of the Pope to the reunion of the province of Litchfield to that of Canterbury; by whom Kenulph, King of Mercia sent the Pope a complimentary letter, with a present of one hundred and twenty mancusses. The Pope in return sent an answer to the King, in which that Prince and his primate are loaded with the most fulsome adulations. He calls the King his most dear, most excellent, and most sweet son; and tells him that the Archbishop was such an admirable prelate, that he was able to bring all the souls in his province, from the very bottom of hell into the port of heaven.* It was the policy of the Pope to grant to those who came from other countries all they applied for, as it would encourage their applications to Rome, and thereby increase his own power and authority over the churches. About this time, the Pope began to be more liberal in rewarding his devotees with the honour of allowing them to kiss his toe. This filthy and degrading ceremony, was first submitted to by that servile Greek Emperor Justinan II, who prostrated himself to kiss the toe of Pope Constantine, A. D. 711, or 712.

*Spelm. Concil. t. 1. p. 322. Vide Henry, vol. 3. p. 240.

Soon after the return of Athelard from Rome, he summoned a council to meet at Cloveshoos, A. D. 803; at which the decree of the Pope, for restoring the see of Canterbury to all its ancient rights, was confirmed with great solemnity, and everlasting damnation denounced against all who should hereafter attempt to tear the coat of Christ, —or in plain English, to divide the provinces of Canterbury.

The Archbishop laid before the council another decree of the Pope's, against admitting laymen to the government of monasteries, which was also confirmed and subscribed by him and his twelve suffragans, with several Abbots and Presbyters.* This last decree was designed to put a stop to a practice which had long prevailed, of noblemen having the government of the monasteries, and their ladies of the nunneries on their estates, and to put those establishments entirely into the hands of ecclesiastics; by which a great accession, both of power and wealth, accrued to the church.

Athelard died A. D. 807, and was succeeded by Wulfred, who convened a council of all the Bishops, Abbots, and many of the Presbyters of his province to meet at Ceale-hythe, July 27th, A. D. 816, at which

* Ibid.

Kenulph, King of Mercia, with many of the great men of his kingdom were present. This council, in the preamble to its canons, is said to have been called in the name and by the authority of Jesus Christ, the supreme head of the church; that the Bishops might treat with the Abbots, Priests and Deacons, concerning what was necessary and useful to the churches. The canons of this council are eleven in number, and some of them contain several curious particulars concerning the state of religion at that time in the English churches.

The second canon prescribes the manner in which parish churches were to be consecrated. The ceremony was to be performed by the Bishop of the diocess, who is to bless the holy water, aud sprinkle it on all things with his own hands, according to the directions in the book of rites. He is then to consecrate the encharist, and to deposit it with the relicks, in the repository provided for them; but if no relicks can be procured, the consecrated elements may be sufficient, because they are the body and blood of Christ. Every Bishop, before he consecrates a church, is to see that the picture of the Saint to whom the church is dedicated, be painted on the wall, or on a board. From the fourth canon it appears that the English Bishops

had at that time, not only an episcopal jurisdiction over all the monasteries and nunneries in their dioceses, but also, authority to appoint the Abbots and Abbesses, with the consent of the members of these societies; from which it appears, that all the exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, said to have been procured from the Pope by several monasteries prior to this time are mere forgeries. The fifth canon of this council contains a most violent invective against the Scotch Clergy;--they decree that no Scotchman shall be allowed to baptize, to say mass, to administer the encharist, or perform any part of the sacredotal office. The reason assigned in the canon is, because it is not known by whom these Scotchmen were ordained, or whether they were ordained or not, since they came from a country where there was no Metropolitan. The sixth canon, declares the decrees of former councils which have been signed with the sign of the cross, to be inviolable. By the seventh canon, Bishops and Abbots are prohibited from selling, or alienating any of their lands for more than one life, except it be to preserve themselves from famine, slavery, or the depredations of the enemy; by which is meant the Danes, who about this time grievously infested the coasts of

England. The tenth prescribes what offices are to be performed at the death of a Bishop for the repose of his soul, namely, that the tenth part of all his moveable effects, both within and without doors, shall be given to the poor;—that all his English slaves shall be set at liberty;—that at the sounding of the signal in the several parish churches, the people shall repair to the church, and there say thirty psalms for the soul of the deceased;—that every Bishop and Abbot shall cause six hundred psalms to be sung, and one hundred and twenty masses to be celebrated, and shall set at liberty three slaves, and give each of them three shillings;—that all the servants of God shall fast one day;—and that in every church, immediately after divine service, seven belts * of pater-nosters shall be sung for thirty days in succession. We may see from the above, how the corruptions of popery had adulterated the pure doctrines of Christianity;—that instead of perfecting holiness, through faith in the blood of the atonement, as a preparation for heaven; they were depending upon the alms, prayers, and masses to be performed by others after their death, to make up for what they had neglected in life.

*These belts or girdles had studs for numbering the pater-noster, as the rosaries or strings of beads do at presnt. Dr. Henry.

The doctrine of praying for the dead was powerfully supported by the pen of John of Damascus, who recommends it as an effectual means of obtaining remission of sins. The last canon of this council orders the Priests to use dipping, and not sprinkling in the celebration of baptism.*

One of the greatest characters of this age was Alcuin, who was a native of Northumbria, and received the rudiments of his education under the venerable Bede, and finished his studies under Egbert Archbishop of York, who ordained him Deacon of the church, and keeper of the curious library which he had founded at York. He was afterwards appointed Abbot of Canterbury. In the year A. D. 790, he was sent on an embassy by Offa, King of Mercia, to the Emperor Charlemagne. The superior manner in which he executed the duties of his embassy, gave the Emperor so high an opinion of his talents, learning and piety, that he solicited him to settle in his court, and assist him in settling a theological controversy, which at that time agitated the whole country. Felix, Bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, had revived the Nestorian heresy, by maintaining that Jesus Christ was the son of God, not by nature, but by adoption,

* Spel. Concil, t. 1. p. 331—336. extr. Hist.

thus separating the humanity from the divinity of the Son of God. Alcuin accompanied the Emperor to the council of Frankfort A. D. 794, at which were present three hundred Bishops, when the heresy of Felix was publicly condemned, but he was not yet convinced of his error. In the year 799, the subject was brought before an assembly of Bishops at Aix la Chapelle, when Felix was allowed to defend his opinions. He was opposed in the debate by Alcuin, by the force of whose arguments, it is said, that both Felix and his followers abandoned their errors, and were brought to the orthodox opinion of the church. Under the patronage of Charlemagne, he founded the universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, and Sossons. After spending eleven years in the court of Charlemagne, he with great difficulty obtained leave to retire to his abbey at St. Martin's at Tours. Here he kept up a constant correspondence by letters with the Emperor, who often solicited his return to court, but no arguments could induce him to leave his "loved retreat." He devoted some of his last days in educating the youth of a school he had founded in that city, where he died at a very advanced age, A. D. 804.

In this dark age the British churches produced some burning and shining lights, whose faithfulness in the discharge of their duty procured them the crown of martyrdom.

Patto, a Scotch Abbot, was appointed Bishop of Verden by Charlemagne. Patto entered upon his work in the true spirit of a Christian Missionary, and had great success among the infidels, but his pious soul was grieved to see the professors of Christianity disgracing the faith by their vices. In his private interviews with them, he affectionately reproved their conduct; and in his public ministry he exposed the sins of the nominal Christians with so much zeal and honesty, that as a reward for his fidelity, they murdered him about the year A.D. 815.

Another of those faithful servants of Jesus Christ, was Frederic of Devonshire, nephew to Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Frederic was appointed Bishop of Utrecht; and one day when dining with the Emperor Lewis the Meek, was exhorted by him to discharge his office with faithfulness and integrity.

The Bishop, pointing to a fish on the table, asked whether it was proper to take it by the head or by the tail. "By the head to be sure," replied the Emperor. "Then

I must begin my career of faithfulness," answered Frederic, "with your Majesty." He then began to reprove the Emperor for an incestuous connection, which he openly maintained with Judith the Empress; and, both in the spirit and language of John the Baptist, told him, "that it was not lawful for him to have her." Lewis, little expected that his own exhortation would so soon be brought to bear against himself, and like Herod, was not prepared to part with his paramour. No sooner did the Empress hear of this rebuke, than in the true spirit of an incensed adulteress, she began to plot the destruction of Frederic, and, for the accomplishment of her purpose she engaged a number of assassins, by whom Frederic was mortally wounded, and died in the true spirit of a martyr, in the cause of him who on the cross prayed for his murderers, "Father forgive them." Frederic, with his dying breath desired that no blood might be shed on his account;—he was murdered A. D. 833.*

The close of the eight and beginning of the ninth centuries, present the civil affairs of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in such an unsettled, divided state, as bearing the most evident portentous marks of ap-

* See Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. 1.

proaching dissolution. The four lesser kingdoms, having become tributary to, or provinces of the three larger ones, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The jealousies of these rival Monarchs, rendered each ready to take the first advantage of his neighbour that circumstances might afford.

On the murder of Cynewlf, King of Wessex, A. D. 784, Brihtric, ascended the throne. To secure his possession of a crown, to which he had no legitimate title, he married Eadburga, daughter of Offa, King of Mercia, at that time the most powerful Prince in Britain. Brihtric, in the spirit of an usurper, sought to take away the life of Egbert the lawful heir to the throne, which compelled that young Prince to seek protection in the court of Charles the Great, where he was treated with a kindness, worthy of his royal benefactor; under whose wise and superior government, Egbert acquired those political accomplishments, which laid the foundation of his future greatness, and rendered him the most profound politician of the age in which he lived. In the wicked life and tragical death of Brihtric, was verified the denunciation of our Saviour, *with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.* Brihtric was very unhappy in his marriage with Eadburga, who was

wanton, cruel, and perfidious, and stuck at nothing to accomplish the destruction of those who had incurred her displeasure. Amongst others she had conceived an implacable animosity against a young nobleman, (who was a great favourite with the King,) and resolved upon his death. For this purpose, she prepared a cup of poison; of which Brihtric having inadvertantly tasted lost his life, at the same time, and by the same means with his favourite. Brihtric, thought that by marrying the daughter of King Offa, he should form such an alliance as would secure him possession of the throne he had usurped;—but the wise are often taken in their own craftiness, for the means on which he calculated, to give permanency to his possessions, were, by the permissive providence of God, the means of hurling him from that eminence to which he soared through scenes of blood.

After the death of Brihtric, the nobility of Wessex recalled Egbert from his exile, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, A. D. 801, over whom he reigned with honour to himself, and profit to his subjects for thirty-six years.

Towards the close of the eight century, the Danes began to commit the most destruc-

tive depredations along the eastern coast. About the year A. D. 793, they landed on the coast of Northumberland, and plundered the famous monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, and killed a great number of the inhabitants.

The following year, another fleet infested the same coast and plundered the monastery at Weirmouth; but a storm arising, several of their ships were wrecked, and their crews drowned, and the inhabitants taking advantage of their distressing situation, fell upon them and beheaded a considerable number of them on the sea shore.

Egbert was a wise and valiant Prince, who observing the weak and unsettled state of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, he considered it a fair opportunity for him to enlarge his dominions, and extend his authority. He began by first gaining the affections of his own subjects. The first addition he made to his dominions was, by reducing Devon and Cornwall to an entire subjection to his government. Bernulf, who had usurped the throne of Mercia, invaded Wessex with all his forces. Egbert engaged the invader at Wilton, and defeated him with such a prodigious slaughter, that the river was discoloured with the blood, and almost choked up with the bodies of the Mercians who fell

in that battle.* This victory was so decisive, that Egbert met with little or no opposition in the conquest of Mercia and its dependencies; and in about four years after the commencement of this war, Egbert beheld himself sole Monarch of all England south of the Humber. Though this surprising success probably exceeded the expectations, it did not satisfy the ambition of Egbert, who passed the Humber at the head of his army, in order to add the kingdom of Northumbria to his conquests. This kingdom was at that time in such an unsettled, and distracted state, that it was in no condition to resist so powerful an invader.

The chief nobility met Egbert at Dore in the east riding of Yorkshire, where the treaty was signed A. D. 827. Thus were all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy brought under one Monarch, about three hundred and seventy-eight years after the first arrival of the Saxons in this Island.† The union of the several English states into one potant kingdom, was attended with many advantages to the church; particularly as the Clergy were thereby delivered from the great inconveniency of being subject to different, and often contending sovereigns. But the invasion of the Danes, which about this

* Sax. Chron. p. 69, 70. ext. Henry. † Burton's Monasticon.

time became more frequent and formidable than before, more than counterbalanced this advantage, and involved the English Clergy in the most deplorable calamities.

Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, died A. D. 830, and was succeeded by Theogildus, Abbot of Christ's church, who survived his predecessor only about three months; when Celnoth, Deacon of the same church, was translated to the primacy.

The death of King Egbert took place in the year A.D. 837, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Ethelwolf, the first Monarch of England, who succeeded his father in the throne.

Ethelwolf was designed for the church, and at his father's death a Sub-Deacon in the cathedral of Winchester.* The English Clergy had hitherto been supported by the produce of the lands which had been given to the church by Kings and other great men; —by a church scot or tax of one Saxon penny on every house that was worth thirty Saxon pennies of yearly rent,—and by the voluntary oblations of the people. From these funds, the Clergy received ample provision in times of peace and plenty; but in the times of war, especially with the Danes, when their houses were burnt, and their lands

* Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 200.

could not be cultivated;—when the church scot could not be regularly levied, and when the voluntary contributions failed, the Clergy were in great distress and indigence. The Danes that invaded England, were in a savage state of Pagan barbarity, and finding the monasteries in which the Clergy generally resided to be better stored with provisions, and other valuable plunder than most other places, they never failed to attack them as the first objects of their insatiable thirst for rapine and slaughter. Great numbers of the Clergy were put to the sword, or buried beneath the ruins of their monasteries. The mildest fate of those who fell into the hands of the Danes, was to be sold for slaves. The dangers to which their profession exposed them, induced many of the Monks to abandon it; some of them becoming soldiers, and others sought a less precarious mode of life. One advantage which religion derived from these calamities was, that many of the Clergy who had hitherto been shut up in their monasteries, were, on the destruction of those monasteries by the Danes, dispersed among the country villages, where they performed the functions of their office to the people of the neighbourhood, many of whom till then,

had never enjoyed the benefits of a regular Ministry.

This gave rise to the building of a number of parish churches, of which there were very few in England before this time. Another advantage which arose out of the dispersion of the Clergy was, that most of them now embraced a married life, as being most convenient and comfortable in their present situation; and so general was this change, that before the end of this century there was hardly a monastery or a Monk, and but few unmarried Clergymen in England. The advancement of Ethelwolf to the throne, did not diminish his interest in the welfare of the church; he sympathized with the suffering Clergy, and manifested a laudable anxiety to make permanent provision for their support.

For this purpose he convened an assembly of all the great men of the kingdom of Wessex, both of the Clergy and Laity who met at Winchester, in November, A.D. 844. Having stated the object of the meeting, Ethelwolf, with a liberality worthy of a pious Prince, he made a solemn grant to the church, of the tenth part of all the lands belonging to the crown, free from all taxes and impositions of every kind, even the three obligations, of building bridges, for-

tifying and defending castles, and marching out on military expeditions.* The King doubtless intended that this royal grant should be imitated by the nobility, which probably it was, but the distracted state of the country at that time prevented him from bringing his benevolent plan into general operation.

The prevailing superstition of the age had a powerful influence over the mind of Ethelwolf; for though his kingdom was in the most imminent danger of being invaded by the Danes, he took his youngest son Alfrid, then about five years old on a visit to Rome A. D. 854, that he might receive confirmation at the hands of the Pope. Anastatius Bibliothecarius, was at Rome at the same time, and extols in the highest terms the profuse liberality of the British King, who loaded the Pope, Nobility, Clergy, and people of the place with the most costly presents, some of which he specifies.

Among others he gave a grant of three hundred mancusses a year to be disposed of as follows:—one-third to provide oil for the lamps of St. Peter;—another third for the lamps of St. Paul;—and the other third for the Pope himself. Ethelwolf also re-built the English school in that city, which had lately

* Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 200. extr. Henry, vol. 3. p. 247.

been destroyed by fire. In return for these munificent and Princely acts, Ethelwolf obtained of the Pope this privilege, that no Englishman should be sent out of his own country to do penance.

After his return from Rome, Ethelwolf convened an assembly of the tributary Kings of Mercia, and East-Anglia, the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, Dukes, Counts, and Nobility of England to meet at Winchester, on the third day of November, A. D. 855, at which time the following act passed into a law, and was offered in the most solemn manner upon the great altar of St. Peter's church at Winchester; and all the Bishops were commanded to send a copy of it to every church in their respective diocesses. By this act, all orders of men who had any landed estates of inheritance, were obliged to give at least a tenth part of it, and of all their goods to the support of the Clergy, or the poor, free from all services. That the Clergy might be left at perfect liberty to perform the functions of their office for the public good, all the lands which they held in their own hands, were to be exempt from all fines, royal aids, and taxes whatever; particularly, from all military expeditions, making and repairing

bridges, and guarding and fortifying castles.* Before this time, the Bishops were frequently called to serve in their own persons in the army, and always to contribute towards the expences of the wars; but by this act they were fully exempt from all secular burdens. This famous act, notwithstanding all the solemnity with which it was made, was in a great measure rendered null, partly by the vague and indeterminate strain in which it was expressed; (for though every man was obliged to pay tithes in general, yet he might give them to what Priest he pleased, or might pay them into the hand of the Bishop, who distributed among his dioclesan Clergy the revenues of the church, which were then in common.) but principally through the deplorable state into which the nation was soon after thrown by the invasion of the barbarous Danes. The same law was re-established by the league of Alfrid and Guthrun, and by the successive confirmations of Edward, Athelstane, Edmund, Edgar, and Ethelard.†

The above act, may be properly called the first act of an English parliament respecting tithe, from which it is evident, that the tithe was originally intended both for the

* Spel. Concil, t. 1. p. 348. extr. Henry. † See Spelman and Wilkins, Saxom laws and councils.

support of the Clergy and the indigent poor; but subsequent laws have divided them, and the poor are now provided for distinct from the church.

After the death of Ethelwolf, in the year 857, his eldest son Ethelbald ascended the throne, but this profligate Prince died in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert. His reign was also short, and the peace of the kingdom incessantly interrupted by the Danes, whose plundering fleets were constantly making attacks upon the towns and country on the coast. He died A. D. 866, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, a wise and good Prince, but who scarcely enjoyed a moment's tranquillity during his whole reign. In the first year of his reign, the Danes landed a numerous army, not for pillage, but for conquest. The East Angles among whom they landed were glad to preserve themselves from destruction, on condition of giving them winter quarters, and furnishing them with a number of horses in the spring. Their object was the conquest of Northumbria, and early in the spring they directed their march northward, and passed the Humber, marking their steps with the appalling characters of fire and blood. Such of the inhabitants as could escape from their

thirsty swords, sought sanctuary in the city of York, where great numbers were put to the sword. Neither age, sex, nor station, civil or religious, afforded any protection. From York they proceeded northward, and like a desolating flood, they laid the country waste before them to the banks of the Tyne. The churches and monasteries were the first objects of their pagan fury. Among other public buildings that were demolished by them, were the monasteries of Whitby, Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and Lindisfarne, when all their valuable libraries and paintings were committed to the flames. The following year the Danish army penetrated into Mercia, and seized Nottingham, where they spent the winter. Burthred, the tributary King of Mercia, finding himself unable to expel these invaders, sought the assistance of Ethelred, who with his brother Alfrid marched at the head of a numerous army, and invested the Danes in Nottingham, when partly by force, and partly by treaty, they obliged them to evacuate Nottingham and return into the north. The following year A. D. 870, they again left York, and marching through part of Mercia, marking their rout with blood and ruin, they took up their winter-quarters at Thetford. The East-Angles, finding that all their for-

mer submissions could not preserve them from ruin, they flew to arms being commanded by Edmund, a young Prince beloved by his people for his piety and virtue; but the Danes proving victorious, took Edmund and put him to death. Encouraged by these successes they advanced to Reading, which they fortified and made their headquarters, and threatened the whole country round with destruction.* To deliver his kingdom from those dreadful enemies, Ethelred collected all his forces, and summoned the Mercians and Northumbrians to join him with theirs. But these infatuated nations, taking advantage of the King's distress, sought to recover their own independency, and thereby, weakened the hands of their sovereign and brought ruin upon themselves. Ethelred marched at the head of his native subjects to dislodge the Danes; and in one year fought nine battles with them, in which he was generally successful; but in a battle fought at *Basing*, he received a mortal wound of which he died at Whittington, April 23rd, A. D. 871, and was buried at Winbourn, in Dorsetshire. He was succeeded by his youngest brother Alfrid, to whose name is generally affixed the epithet Great. The natural disposition of Alfrid,

* Asser. page 6. Extr. Henry.

was mild and gentle in a high degree, and his great love of literature, would sooner have led him to the college to enjoy the sublime gratification of pursuing his studies, than having to engage in the tumults of war. But scarcely had he time to attend the remains of his brother to the grave, before he had to fight for the crown he had just received. In the first year of his reign he fought eight battles with the Danes, in most of which he was victorious; but the Danes having poured in a number of fresh troops, a bloody battle was fought near Wilton, which so broke the strength and dispirited the Saxon troops, that they could not be brought again to make head against the enemy.

Alfrid aware of the critical state of his affairs, after first disposing of his family, and settling a mode of communication with his tried friends, he disguised himself and engaged as a servant to his own neat-herd to take care of the cows, as the most likely means of concealing himself. The following anecdote is related by several ancient writers, to shew how completely he succeeded in his disguise. One day the good woman set a cake before the fire where the King was busy trimming his bow and arrows; on coming back, and finding the

cake burnt through neglect of turning in her absence, which she supposed he would have done, she reproved him severely for his inattention, and told him, that though he could not turn the cake, she knew he would be ready enough to eat it.

Alfrid soon after this left his situation as a cow-keeper, and with his wife and a few faithful friends, found a safe retreat in a castle on the isle of Athelney in Somersetshire, surrounded by vast morrasses, and accessible only by one very obscure passage. The following story is related by William of Malmsbury to shew to what extremities this Monarch was now reduced. One day, a pilgrim came to his castle and requested an alms. The Queen informed Alfrid, that they had only one small loaf remaining, which was insufficient for themselves and their friends, who were gone abroad in quest of fish and other food, though with little hope of success. "Give the poor man half of the loaf" said the King, "he that could feed five thousand men with five loaves and two small fishes, can certainly make that half of the loaf suffice for more than our necessities." The man was relieved accordingly; and the King's benevolence was rewarded by the early arrival of his people with an ample

supply of fresh provisions.* The following year the Danes landed a large body of troops near Barnstable in Devonshire, under the command of Hubba, the brother of Halfdane, and laid siege to the fortress of Kinwith. Odun, the Earl of Devonshire, with a small army which he raised attacked the Danes with such valour, that their army was routed with the loss of twelve hundred slain, including most of their chiefs. He also took their magical standard, on which was wrought a raven flying; and such were their superstitious ideas of it, that whilst fighting under that banner, they considered themselves invincible. On hearing of this victory obtained over the Danes in Devonshire, the King sent letters to a number of the nobility to let them know where he was, that they might come and consult with him on the state of the nation. But before any thing was determined upon, Alfrid disguised himself in the habit of an itinerant harper, and strolled into the Danish camp, where his musical talents were so much admired, that he was introduced into the tent of the Danish Chief Guthrum. Having made his observations with that accuracy which mark-

* A beautiful painting from this subject by the late Mr. West, may be seen in the court-room of the Hall of the Company of Stationers, presented by the late venerable Alderman Boydell.

ed all his proceedings, he retired without exciting the least suspicion; having discovered that the Danes were as much off their guard as if they had not an enemy in the country.

On his return to Athelney, he despatched trusty messengers to all the nobility of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, commanding them to meet him, with all their followers in arms, on a certain day at Brixton, near Selwood Forest, Wiltshire. The summons was promptly obeyed, and on the appointed day, Alfred found himself at the head of a numerous army of his own subjects, who were elated at the sight of their beloved King, and being all fired with the love of liberty, they determined to conquer their cruel foe, or die in the attempt. He did not allow their ardour time to cool by long deliberation, but led them directly to Eddington, where they fell upon the Danes with incredible alacrity, at a time when the latter had not the least suspicion of Alfrid having an army in existence, and before they had time to recover from their surprise he obtained a complete victory.—Alfrid's little band having slain a great number of the Danish army, Guthrum, with those who escaped shut themselves up in a neighbouring castle, but being closely be-

sieged by the victorious army, they were forced to surrender at discretion. Alfrid treated them like a wise and merciful man, who would rather conquer his enemies with kindness, than kill them with his sword. He engaged to give them the kingdom of the East-Angles, and take them under his protection on condition that they would become Christians, and join with him to prevent the ravages of other Danes. In compliance with these terms, Guthrum the Danish Chief, with thirty of his officers came to Alfrid at Allar, in Somersetshire, and was there baptised into the Christian faith, A. D. 880. The King answered for him at the font, gave him the name of Ethelstan, and adopted him for a son. The King entertained them in a most Princely manner for twelve days, and then dismissed them with rich presents. Those of the Danes who would not comply with the King's terms, went along with Hastings one of their Chiefs, into Flanders.

Alfrid having subdued his enemies, enjoyed a degree of repose for several years, during which, he diligently attended to those things most calculated to prolong its continuance. He repaired his ruined cities, built forts in the most important places for the protection of the coasts;—increased his fleet;—trained

his subjects to the use of arms, and many other projects for the security and improvement of his country.*

To attach his Danish converts to the religion they had engaged to profess, Alfrid made several laws for the regulation of their conduct, to all of which Guthrum and the other chiefs gave their consent.

By the first of these laws, the Danes were compelled to renounce Paganism, and continue in the faith and worship of the one true God. By the second, a heavy fine is imposed on those who should apostatize from Christianity, and relapse into Paganism. By the rest of these laws, which are seventeen in number, the several vices to which the Danes were most addicted are strictly prohibited;—the payment of tithes,—the religious observance of the Lord's day, and other festivals;--with several other directions both to the Clergy and Laity.*

Alfrid's next concern was, to repair the ruined churches and monasteries, and build new ones where they were wanted. But many of the old Monks having perished in the late wars, from the appalling accounts they had heard of their late sufferings, the present generation had contracted such an aver-

* Asser. page 12. Ex. Henry, vol. 3, p. 77. † Spel. Concil. t. 1. p. 375, Id.

sion to that mode of life, that the monasteries had to be supplied principally by foreigners. Some of the Clergy, who at the Danish invasion, to preserve their lives, had abandoned their monasteries; after peace was restored, returned to the places from whence they fled, took possession of their lands, and began to repair their churches and habitations. Many of these Clergymen having married in their retreats, when they returned to their monasteries, brought with them their wives and children. In consequence of which, Dr. Henry remarks, "the Abbots in England, in the end of this and the beginning of the next century, were generally possessed by a kind of secular or married Monks;" which gave rise to many long and violent contentions in the church of England.

Among the laws which Alfrid made for his subjects, are several which relate to the church. In the introduction to these laws he gives a copy of the ten commandments, in which the second commandment against the making and worshipping of images is omitted; but to make up the number, after the ninth, the following short one is added, "make thou not gods of gold or silver:" a precept which very few were able to violate. This omission of the second com-

mandment shews, that images, which had been introduced into the church as ornaments, and helps to memory, were now become the objects of adoration; to give countenance to which, the church of Rome has (as above cited,) corrupted the very words spoken by JEHOVAH himself. Alfrid also adopted into his ecclesiastical laws, the canons of the apostolical council of Jerusalem, recorded Acts xv. 29, and dilates largely on that excellent precept of Christ, to do unto others as we would have others to do unto us.

From one of these canons we learn that the Clergy had adopted a curious device to raise the devotion of the people, and give a mysterious solemnity to the rites of religion during the time of Lent, by drawing a curtain before the altar when they celebrated mass. But the people, it appears, did not like to be kept on the outside of the curtain, and to satisfy their curiosity, would sometimes turn it aside or pull it down, which the canon prohibits under a severe penalty. By another we are informed that servants, but not slaves, were allowed forty-two days in the year to work for themselves, and not for their masters.

Alfrid had his peace repeatedly interrupted by the restless Danes, whom neither leagues,

oaths, nor hostages could compel to keep their faith. They landed several times on different parts of the coast more for the purpose of plunder, than in hope of conquest; but in the year A. D. 893, Hastings made a most formidable descent on the coast of Kent, with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail. Having effected a landing, they seized the fort of Apuldore, and made it their head-quarters; while Hastings with eighty vessels sailed up the Thames, and landed his men at Milton, where they built a strong fortification, some vestages of which are still remaining. Alfrid was in the north when he received the news of this invasion; and having exacted a new oath of alliance, and a number of hostages from the Danes in these parts, he directed his march southwards, collecting his forces as he advanced, and took up a position near the centre of Kent, between the two Danish armies, in order to prevent their junction. Whilst in this situation he was informed of the Danes in Northumberland having in violation of their oath, fitted out a fleet of one hundred and forty ships, which had sailed to the west, and were besieging Exeter. But the good order Alfrid had every where established, enabled him to come upon the Danes before Exeter so unexpectedly, that they

raised the siege and fled to their ships with the greatest precipitation. He completely routed the Danish army at Beamfleet, when Hasting's wife, and his two sons who had lately been baptized were taken prisoners; but Alfrid, with a greatness of soul unparalleled in those rude ages, returned them to Hasting's with this message, "I make no war upon women and Christians." Hastings now gave up all hope of conquest and sued for peace, which Alfrid granted with his usual clemency.

The last incursion made by the Danes in Alfrid's day, was under the command of Sigefert a Northumbrian, who being well acquainted with Alfrid's naval preparations, constructed a number of vessels upon a superior principle both for sailing and security. The King improving on his invention, had a number of gallies built some of which carried sixty rowers. These being both loftier and sailing faster than the Danes, he came upon them in the west, took twenty of their ships and a great number of prisoners whom he tried at Winchester, and condemned them all to be hanged as pirates, and enemies to the human race, A. D. 897. The well timed-severity of this execution, together with the excellent posture of defence every where established, procured him

an uninterrupted peace to the end of his reign.

Alfrid, though a man of the most peaceable habits, had to fight personally in fifty-six battles; and having enlarged his dominions beyond what any of his predecessors possessed, he now turned his attention to those subjects which were calculated to promote the general welfare of his people.—One of his first objects was to repair and rebuild the public buildings, churches and monasteries, which the desolating Danes had destroyed wherever they came. But such was the zeal of Alfrid for the spread of religion, that, considering the many interruptions he had from the frequent invasion of his country by foreign foes;—the number of churches he repaired, and the new ones he erected, are almost incredible. He greatly regretted the low state to which learning was reduced in the land, chiefly through the barbarous conduct of the Danes, who had destroyed the monasteries, burnt the libraries, and either murdered the monks, or drove them to seek sanctuary in other parts. Of this the King complains in his preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastorals, where he tells us "That there were few on this side the Humber able either to translate a piece of Latin, or understand the Liturgy

in the English language." To remedy this national defect, the King invited to his court the most learned men of his own and other countries, for the purpose of instructing the young nobility and others; and composing suitable books for the general instruction of his subjects.

From the high reputation in which Alfrid was held among the learned abroad, he soon saw himself surrounded by the most learned men that were then to be found in France and Italy. Among the learned of Alfrid's court were Asser, a monk of St. David's in Wales, who was one of his greatest favourites and wrote his life; to which we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the actions and character of this great Prince.

Grimbald, a monk of Rheims in France, was famous for his theological and ecclesiastical learning, and his skill in church music, which rendered him a valuable acquisition to Alfrid, in promoting his designs for the restoration of learning.

John Scot, a very learned man from Old Saxony, on the Continent; he taught at Oxford, and was slain by the monks of the Abbey of Ethelingey, of which he was Abbot.* Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Werefred, Bishop of Worcester, Dun-

* Ingulf Hist. Extr. Henry.

wulph, Bishop of Winchester, Wulfsig and Ethelstan, Bishops of London, and Werebert, Bishop of Chester, were among the learned men who assisted Alfrid in his studies, and in promoting the interests of learning among his subjects.* To enable these learned men to pursue their studies with greater success, this great Prince formed the noble design of erecting suitable accommodations for them and their pupils; where all the different sciences might be taught as well for the Laity as the Clergy, and fixed the site of it at Oxford, of the founding of which the following account is given by John Rouse.

"At the first founding of the University "of Oxford, the noble King Alfrid built "three halls in the name of the Holy "Trinity, for the Doctors in Grammar, "Philosophy, and Divinity. The first of "these halls was situated in High-Street, "near the east gate of the City, and en- "dowed with a sufficient maintenance for "twenty-six Grammarians. This was called "*Little-Hall*, on account of the inferiority "of the science there studied, and it still "retains that name even in my time. The "second was built near the north wall of the "city, in the street now called *School-Street*,

* Spelman's Life of Alfrid, p. 137, 138, ibid.

" and endowed for twenty-six Logicians or " Philosophers, and had the name of *Less-* " *Hall.* The third was also built in High- " Street, contiguous to Little-Hall, and " was endowed for twenty-six Divines, for " the study of the Holy Scriptures."*

Whether it was the first foundation of this famous seat of learning, begun by King Alfrid, A. D. 872, or the re-founding a more ancient one that had been destroyed by the Pagans, is a disputed point, on which we shall not hazard an opinion, especially as the act is equally meritorious on the part of Alfrid, who may be justly styled the father and founder of the University of Oxford.

In the year A. D. 896, the kingdom of Northumbria ceased to be governed by a King of their own, and Alfrid became sole Monarch of all the provinces of the Heptarchy. He next turned his attention to the improvement of the civil law, and being well aware how tenaciously people will cleave to an old custom, he collected all the various customs he found dispersed in the different parts of the kingdom, and reduced and digested them into one uniform system, or code of laws, in his *liber judicialis.* He established the Court-Baron, County Court,

* Ross. Hist. Regum. Angl, p. 77, 78, ibid.

the Court Leet, and Sheriff's Court, for the trial of all causes, civil and criminal, in the very districts where the complaint arose; but all of them subject to the King's own court over which he presided in person, it being always held in the King's Palace.— Nor was he less solicitous to improve the discipline of the church. He frequently reminded the Bishops of their duty in watching over the morals and ministry of the inferior Clergy, well knowing, that the best code of civil laws it was possible to form, and those laws enforced by the most vigilant magistrates, would fail in their moral effect unless the heart was pervaded by a religious influence, which it would be vain to look for among the lower orders of the laity, if it be not kept alive in the hearts of the ministers of religion, whose duty it is not only to point out the way to others, but by their life and conduct set a proper example to those they are appointed to instruct.

The happy effects of the combined influence of religion, and a good policy which prevailed in the latter part of the reign of this Prince, is spoken of in very strong terms by Sir John Spelman, who says, "Before these days it was not safe for any man to travel without arms, but now, all places were so secure, that the King having

(for experiment's sake,) caused bracelets to be hung up in the cross ways, they seemed to deride the passengers, for no man durst lay his hands upon them ;" and Ingulphus writing on the same period says, "If any man left his money all night in the highway, he might return the next morning and find it untouched." We are inclined to think, that great as the moral improvement of the nation was, that both of the authors above quoted, have painted in hyperbolical colours.

Alfrid has been justly considered as the greatest Monarch that ever swayed the British sceptre. In him was found that rare combination of great parts, which renders it difficult to determine which to admire most. The wisdom of his measures as a politician will appear by adverting to the state of the country when he was called to the throne. He found the nation tottering on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall a prey to the northern barbarians, who were perpetually pouring their numerous hordes upon her coasts; whilst all their martial spirit which had so signally characterised the Britons, was buried under the rubbish of sloth, ignorance, and the want of every moral virtue. His constitution was naturally weak, but in the field of battle, he displayed all the courage, prudence, and temper of a

complete warrior. He fought *fifty-six* battles in defence of his crown, which no other European Prince has since done in defence of his legitimate rights. By his vigorous and enterprising mind, united with personal valour, he raised the tone of the British character far above its former level. It was he who first taught the English to defend themselves by a naval force, which is now the glory of our country, and the terror of the world. When we contemplate his profound wisdom as a legislator,—his courage as a warrior,—his clemency towards his conquered foes,—his love of learning,—his deep and sincere piety; we must conclude that he was raised up by the special providence of God, for the period in which he lived.

This excellent Monarch departed this life October 28th, A. D. 900, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, aged forty-one years.

His biographer Asserius, describes him as being the most amiable man in his dominions; he was of so even a temper that he always appeared at an equal distance from sadness, or unbecoming levity. Always calm, yet always cheerful. Familiar to his friends, just even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. He was a remarkable economist of his time, as appears from the method he took for dividing and keeping an

account of it. He caused six wax candles to be made, each twelve inches long and as many ounces weight, on which the inches were regularly marked, and having ascertained, that one of them would burn just four hours, he committed them to the care of the keeper of his chapel, who announced from time to time how the hours went; but as in windy weather, the candles were wasted by the action of the air on the flame, to remedy this inconvenience, he invented lant*horns*, there being at that time scarcely any glass in his dominions.

In the reign of Alfrid, the tax called Peterpence was first imposed upon the people of England. Peterpence, means one penny out of ten from all the church livings, which the Popes appropriated to themselves as a legal perquisite.

Alfrid translated the gospel into the Saxon tongue for the benefit of his subjects, from which is extracted the subjoined Lord's Prayer. "*Fæder ure thu the eart on heafenum, si thin nama gehalgod, to be cume thin Rice, Gewurthe thin villa on eorthan swa swa on heafenum, urne ce dæghwanliæn hlaf syle to dag; and forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we forgyvath urum gyltendum; and ne gelædde thu us on cosenung, ac alyse us of yfele.*" [*Si it swa.*]

CHAPTER VII.

State of the country on the accession of Edward.—Auricular confession and penance.—University of Cambridge founded.—Origin of markets and fairs.—Council at Gratanlea.—Different kinds of ordeals.—Death of Athelstan.—Assassination of King Edmund.—Birth of Dunstan.—King Arthur's coffin found at Glastonbury.—A number of Dunstan's miracles.—Cruelties inflicted on King Edwy and his Queen Algiva.—Character of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Dunstan made Primate.—Reign of Edgar.—Dunstan, Ethelwald, and Oswald, expel the married Clergy, and establish the Monks.—The canons of King Edgar.—Death of Dunstan.

Alfrid was succeeded by his son Edward, surnamed the elder, being the first English King of that name. In the second year of his reign, his right of the throne was contested by his cousin Ethelwald, whose claim to the throne was supported by the Danes in the East Angles, Essex, and the Northumbrians, who received him as their King, in hope of throwing off the English yoke: but their expectations were cut off by the death of Ethelwald, who was slain in battle, A. D. 905, when the English Danes, submitted themselves to Edward on his own terms;

but the peace of his kingdom was frequently interrupted by the invasions of the Danes from their own country, to the great injury both of learning and religion.

We are now entering upon a period, which is commonly called *the age of lead.** From about this time may be traced the reign of idolatry in the church of Rome, whose supremacy was now generally acknowledged by the English churches.

The fall of the Roman Empire, gave birth to the "*Beast*" which rose up out of the sea, (figuratively, Europe,) having upon his "seven heads" the name of "blasphemy;" and being seated on his throne, his devotees worship him saying, "who is like unto the beast." The "false prophet" had begun to work miracles, by which many were deceived. Dr. Henry remarks on this long dark night of ignorance and superstition in which Europe was involved, that "it is difficult to determine whether the impudence of the Clergy, or the credulity of the Laity, were most remarkable in those unhappy times; but it is evident, that the former could hardly invent any thing too absurd for the latter to believe."

The zest which had been excited for useful learning during the reign of Alfrid, be-

* Baron Annal. ad. an. 900.

gan to decline with the developement of that spiritual tyranny, which is exercised by the Pope over the consciences of men. The disturbed state of the kingdom after the death of Alfrid, occasioned by the insurrection of Ethelwald, and the invasion of the Danes, had prevented Edward from appointing Bishops to some of the vacant sees, for which it is said by Malmsbury, that the Pope laid both him and his kingdom under an interdict, A. D. 905. The correctness of this story is called in question by Dr. Henry, whose opinion is found in Inett's Church History, that "the Bishops of Rome had not then become such cruel audacious tyrants, as to deprive whole kingdoms of the means of salvation for the fault of one man. It is not improbable, that King Edward received an admonition from Rome, which the monkish historians in succeeding ages magnified into an interdict." Henry did not found the above charitable conclusion on the good opinion he had of the Popes, for he says, "The Popes who governed the church of Rome in this century, were for the most part the vilest miscreants that ever disgraced human nature; and that city where letters had hitherto been cultivated in some degree, now became a scene of such deplorable ignorance, as well as wickedness, that a con-

temporary writer cries out, " O miserable " Rome! thou that formerly didst hold out " so many great and glorious luminaries to " our ancestors, into what prodigious dark- " ness art thou now fallen, which will ren- " der thee infamous to all succeeding ages."*

We have no certain data to determine when auricular confession was first introduced, but about this time it had gained such an establishment as to exclude, in a great degree, all public discipline from the church. The practice was in use as early as the time of Theodore, Archbishop of York, who was well aware of the many evils arising out of it, which the utmost exertion of his episcopal power could not prevent. To counteract the abuse of that discretionary power, which had left the confessors at liberty to impose what private penance they thought proper; and then compromise the performance according to circumstances.—(All kinds of penances might be redeemed by singing a sufficient number of psalms and *pater-nosters*. For example, if a penitent was condemned to fast a certain number of days, he might redeem as many of them as he pleased, at the rate of singing six *pater-nosters*, and the one hundred and

* Henry, vol. 4, B. 11, c. 4. Art. learn. Ext. Arnoldus Orleanensis, apud. Du Pin.

nineteenth psalm six times over, for one day's fast.* He wrote a directory for their guide, stating what kind and degree of penance was to be inflicted according to the circumstances of the case. But the feeble influence of prescribed rules to the violation of which no penalty was annexed, were but a mere cobweb fence to guard the rights of private individuals, from the rapacious grasp of greedy men. Many of the confessors became complete adepts in the arts of insinuation, and by their wily means drew from those who came to confess, every thing that related to their family, fortune, and pursuits; which information, when a seasonable opportunity occurred, they brought to bear according to circumstances. Times of more than ordinary trouble, and the beds of the dying, afforded them their richest repasts. On these occasions, the private concerns of their families, friends, and neighbours, and even the secret counsels of the court have been wrung from the breast of the inquiring penitent, as necessary "confession unto salvation." The dread apprehensions excited in the awakened conscience under the influence of the fear of death, were tender strings on which those guides to heaven, never failed to play to their own

* Johnson's Canons, A. D. 963.

profit. Instead of directing the dying penitent to seek pardon for his sins through faith in the merits of a crucified Saviour; their great concern was, to give directions about the disposing of their property, with which former confessions had made them well acquainted. As popery prevailed, the scriptural doctrine of a salvation from sin as a meetness for heaven, was preached against as a vile heresy; and a purgation by fire after death to fit the soul for heaven was substituted in its place; the counterpart of which was, that the prayers of the Priests were available, both in mitigating the pains of purgatory, and also in shortening their duration. Under the influence of such a delusive hope, numbers were induced to leave large legacies to the church, that after their death, prayers for the repose of the soul might be read by the Priests for a longer or shorter period.*

* Dr. Smollett relates the case of a gentleman he met with at Nice, who complained loudly of the oppressive rites of their church, founded upon the following fact:—The gentleman's grandmother at her death, ordered a large portion of the family property to be paid to the monks of a certain monastery, for a daily mass to be said for the repose of her soul, without specifying the time of its continuance. The family were now much reduced in their circumstances, and the sum paid to the monks devoured more than two-thirds of their income. The gentleman considered his grandmother's case as not being one of the worst kind, and having been dead more than fifty years, he concluded that if the monks had done their duty, she ought not to have been kept in purgatory so long. Bnt the monks had got hold of the right end,

In many instances, parents have left the sole disposal of their children and property to these guides of their faith; when after the death of the parents, the daughters have been sent to the nunneries, not by choice, but constraint; and the sons disposed of in the army, navy, or monastery, without ever inheriting any part of their parent's property. By the above means, and other novel methods of raising the revenues of the church they soon rose to an enormous amount; but this increase of church property was followed with neglect of learning, pride and indolence among the Clergy, and the grossest immoralities in the laity. The Clergy in this age were almost as illiterate as the laity. Some who filled the highest stations in the church, could not so much as either read or write.

It was for the accommodation of such as could not write their own names, whether among the Clergy or laity, that they were allowed, as a substitute, to make the sign of the cross.

Though King Edward possessed neither the talents or piety of his father Alfrid, yet he is deservedly ranked among the most learned and greatest Princes of his day in

and were not willing either to discontinue their masses, or part with the property.

Europe. If he was not so learned as his father, he was the firm friend both of learning and learned men. In one of his laws it is enacted, "that if any man make such proficiency in learning as to obtain Priest's orders, he shall enjoy all the honours and privileges of a thane."* It is also said, as a further proof of his attention both to religion and learning, that he employed certain learned Jews, who then resided in England, to translate the Old Testament out of Hebrew into English.

The invasions of the Danes had kept the kingdom in a state of constant commotion and alarm, from his entrance upon the throne; but as soon as his affairs were a little more settled, he directed his attention to the state of the church. He began by first filling up all the vacant Bishoprics, and then erected new ones at Wells, at Kirton, in Devonshire, and at Padstow, in Cornwall; so that Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated no fewer than seven Bishops in one day, A. D. 909, namely, Fridstan of Winchester, Werestan of Sherburn, Kenulph of Dorchester, Beornock of Selsey, Athelm of Wells, Eadulph of Kirton, and Athelstan of Padstow.†

* Spelman Concil. t. 1. p. 406. † Anglia Sacra. t. i. p. 554, vide Henry.

Edward gave further proof of his regard to learning, by founding or restoring the University of Cambridge, as his father had done that of Oxford.

The following account of it is given by Rossii, "Edward, surnamed the elder, succeeded his father Alfrid the Great; and "though he was not equal to him in learning, "yet he loved learned men, and advanced "them to ecclesiastical dignities, according to "their merits. For the further encouragement "of learning, he raised Cambridge as his "father had done Oxford, to its former glory "after it had been long in ruins, with all the "other ancient seminaries of learning; and, "like a generous friend and patron of the "Clergy, he commanded halls for the "teachers and students to be built there at "his own expence. To render this institution complete, he invited teachers of the "liberal arts, and doctors in theology, from "Oxford, and settled them at Cambridge. "Thus far Thomas Rodburn, in his chronicle. But I have seen a more full and "authentic representation of this in a certain ancient painting in the Abbey of "Hyde, at Winchester, which was sent to "me and is still in my possession.* On this article Dr. Henry remarks—"If the above

* J. Rossii Hist. Reg. Ang. p. 96.

account of the restoration of schools of learning at Cambridge, by Edward the Elder is true, which I will not take upon me either to affirm or deny, these schools, together with the City of Cambridge, were once more ruined by the Danes, A. D. 1010, and do not seem to have been restored again till after the conclusion of the period we are now delineating."*

Edward's attention to the promotion of learning and religion, was frequently interrupted by the invasions of the Danes from abroad, and the frequent insurrections of their countrymen settled in England. But the invaders were repelled, and the insurrections suppressed by the prompt and vigorous exertions of this Prince; in which he was greatly assisted by his sister Elfleda, widow of Ethelred King of Mercia. This Princess appears to have inherited more of the heroic spirit of Alfrid the Great, than any of his children. She looked upon the cares and amusements, which generally engage the attention of females, as trifles too insignificant for a mind like her's to be occupied with. She governed Mercia eight years after the death of her husband; and was frequently seen at the head of her army in the field of battle, where she performed

* Henry Hist. vol. 4, p. 70.

such martial exploits as would have done honour to the greatest generals. She planed and built several cities and fortifications. At her death A. D. 920, Edward took the government of that country into his own hands, and extended his dominions still further by a successful expedition into Wales, A. D. 922, when he reduced the three Princes of that country to a state of subjection. One of the established customs of this period we notice here for its singularity.

The appointment of the times for holding markets and fairs, was one of the royal prerogatives; and they were generally appointed when and where there was a concourse of people collected on some other occasion. Wherever popery has prevailed, less observance has been paid to the sanctity of the sabbath, which gave rise to the weekly markets being held on the Sundays. They could assign two reasons for this violation of the sabbath; first, that the people might have an opportunity of procuring necessaries for the purposes of religion;—secondly, that the services of the church might be better attended on that account. But this unnatural mixture was attended with many inconveniences, which proved very prejudicial to the interests of religion, and gave

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rise to several subsequent laws against holding markets on Sundays, and at length the weekly market was changed from Sunday to Saturday, but was still kept near the church, that those who came from a distance might have an opportunity of attending divine service on the following day, if they were so disposed. But it appears that not only the weekly market, but the annual fairs, were in their origin intimately connected with religion.

These annual fairs were always held near some cathedral, church, or monastery, on the eve, or festival of the Saint to whom it was dedicated.

The Bishops and Abbots observing great multitudes of people come from distant places to celebrate the festivals of their patron Saints, applied to the crown for charters to hold fairs at those times, for the accommodation of strangers, and with a view to increase their own revenues by the tolls which their charters authorized them to levy at those fairs.* Many precautions were taken (and some of them not a little singular,) to preserve good order, and prevent theft and cheating at these ecclesiastical fairs. For example, when a fair was held within the

* Murator Antiq. t. 2. Dissert. 30. p. 862. Extr. Henry. vol. 4. p. 205.

precincts of a cathedral or monastery, it was not uncommon to oblige every man to take an oath at the gate before he was admitted, that he would neither lie, nor steal, nor cheat, while he continued in the fair. These customs were very artful contrivances of the Clergy of those times, for raising the reputation and increasing the revenues of their churches. Many of these ecclesiastical fairs are still kept in all popish countries; and many of our own are still held on the same Saint's days to whose honour they were originally instituted.

The death of Edward took place at Farington in Berkshire, A. D. 925, leaving behind him five sons, and nine daughters. He was succeeded to the throne by his eldest son Athelstan, who was crowned at Kingston upon Thames, by Athelm Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sithric, Prince of the Northumbrian Danes, was the only Prince in England, to disturb the peace of Ethelstan, and in order to unite him to his interest, he gave him his own sister Edgetha in marriage, on condition of renouncing Paganism, and embracing Christianity; and also enlarged his territories by giving him all the country between the Tees and Edinburgh. Athelstan did not long enjoy the fruit of this affinity,

for the death of Sithric took place soon after, when he was succeeded in the throne by his two sons, Anlaff and Guthfert, by a former wife, who renounced Christianity and cast off all subjection to the King of England; and having formed a conspiracy with some other petty Princes, involved Athelstan in a long and bloody war.

In the year A. D. 928, King Athelstan assembled a great council at Gratanlea, in which Wulphelm, Archbishop of Canterbury presided.

The first canon of this Council respects the payment of tithes, and is couched in the following terms. "I King Athelstan, by "the advice of Wulphelm, my Archbishop, "and of my other Bishops, strictly com- "mand and charge you all my reeves, in all "parts of my kingdom, in the name of "God and his Saints, and as you value my "favour, to pay the tithes, both of the cat- "tle and corn, on my lands; and I further "ordain, that all my Bishops and Aldermen "shall pay the tithes of their lands; and "that they shall give it in charge to all who "are under their jurisdiction to do the same. "All this I command to be carried into exe- "cution by the time appointed, which is the "day of the decollation of John the Bap- "tist." In the third canon, the King, for

the forgiveness of his sins, and salvation of his soul, commands each of his reeves to maintain one poor Englishman from every two of his farms, by giving him one amber of meal, one hog, or one ram, worth fourpence, every month, and one mantle, or thirty-pence annually, for his clothing. By two of these canons, the various religious ceremonies are prescribed, which were to be observed in performing the several kinds of ordeal, by which to determine the guilt or innocence of the person accused. Among the various and numerous kinds of ordeals then in use, we shall notice the five following:—the ordeal of the cross,—the ordeal of the corsned,—the ordeal of cold water,—the ordeal of hot water,—the ordeal of hot iron.

The cross was an object of so much superstitious veneration in this period, that there is no wonder it was employed as an ordeal. It was used for this purpose in various ways, but we shall only notice one;—When the prisoner had declared his innocence upon oath, and appealed to the judgment of the cross, two sticks were prepared exactly alike; the figure of the cross was cut on one of these sticks, and nothing on the other: each of them was then wrapped up in a quantity of fine white wool, and laid on the

altar, or on the relicks of the Saints; after which a solemn prayer was put up to God, that he would be pleased to discover, by evident signs, whether the prisoner was innocent or guilty. These solemnities being finished, a Priest approached the altar and took up one of the sticks, which was uncovered with much anxiety. If it was the stick marked with the cross, the prisoner was pronounced innocent, if it was the other he was declared guilty.†

The corsned, or the consecrated bread and cheese, was the ordeal to which the Clergy commonly appealed when they were accused of any crimes; in which they acted a very prudent part, as it was not attended with either danger or inconvenience. This ordeal was performed in the following manner:—A piece of barley bread, and a piece of cheese, were laid upon the altar, over which a Priest pronounced certain conjurations, and prayed with great fervency, that if the person accused was guilty, that God would send his angel Gabriel to stop his throat, that he might not be able to swallow that bread and cheese. These prayers being ended, the culprit approached the altar, took up the bread and cheese, and began to eat it. If he swallowed freely, he was de-

† Spel. Glos. in voc. Crucis. Judicium.

clared innocent; but if it stuck in his throat and he could not swallow, he was pronounced guilty.* As this was the test by which they tried the guilt or innocence of the Priest, we may presume they were seldom or never found guilty.

The ordeal of cold water seems to have been chiefly used in the trials of the common people. It was conducted as follows:—The person who was to be tried, was put under the direction of a spiritual father, who was held in high reputation for his sanctity; who obliged the prisoner to perform many extraordinary acts of devotion, and kept a rigorous fast for three days. When the fast was ended, on the day appointed for the trial the culprit was conducted to the church, where the Priest celebrated mass; but before he permitted the accused to communicate he addressed him in the following solemn strain. "I adjure thee, O man, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the true Christianity which you profess, by the only begotten Son of God, by the Holy Trinity, by the Holy Gospel, and by all the holy relicks in this church, that you do not presume to communicate, or approach this holy altar, if you have committed this crime, consented to it, or known who committed

* Muratori Antig. t. 3. 619. Lindenbrog p. 1307. Extr. Henry.

it." If the prisoner made no confession, the Priest gave him the communion, saying, "Let this body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be received by you as a probation this day." After this ceremony was over the Priest consecrated a quantity of holy water, and then the whole company went in procession from the church to the pool where the ordeal was to be performed. When they arrived at the pool, the Priest gave the prisoner a drink of the holy water saying, "Let this holy water be to thee a probation this day." If the prisoner still continued to deny his guilt, then the Priest pronounced a long and fervent prayer over the pool, adjuring it by every thing sacred and divine in heaven, and venerable and holy on earth, that if the person to be thrown into it was guilty, it would reject him, and cause him to float upon its surface; but if he was innocent, that it would receive him into its bosom. The prisoner was then stripped naked, his hands and legs made fast, and a rope tied round his middle, with a knot upon it, at the distance of a yard and a half from his body, and thrown into the pool. If he floated, he was taken out and declared guilty; if he sunk so deep as to bring the knot on the rope under the water, he was instantly pulled out, and pronounced inno-

cent.* This ordeal, Dr. Henry remarks, was evidently a very uncertain test of guilt or innocence; but the great solemnity with which it was administered, might sometimes strike terror into the minds of criminals, and bring them to confession. In this ordeal it was presumed that God would work a miracle for the detection of guilt; the two following ordeals of hot water and hot iron, the presumption was that he would work a miracle for the vindication of innocence, but there was no solid foundation for either of these presumptions.

The preparations by fastings, prayers, and other religious exercises for the hot water ordeal, were of the same kind, and of the same duration as those used for the ordeal by cold water. When these private preparations were finished, the person to be tried was conducted with great solemnity to the church, where the Priest went through the usual prayers on the occasion; after which mass was celebrated; and before the accused was permitted to communicate, he was abjured, in the most solemn form of words, to confess if he was guilty. Fire was then kindled under a pot filled with water; and while the water was heating, the Priest said many prayers composed for that purpose.

* Wilkins Leges Saxon p. 61.

As soon as the water began to boil, a stone was suspended in it by a string, at the depth of one, two, or three palms, according to the nature of the accusation. The pot was then taken down and placed by the side of the fire; and the prisoner having said the Lord's prayer, (not very rapidly we may presume,) and marked himself with the sign of the cross, plunged his naked hand and arm into the hot water and snatched out the stone. His arm was instantly wrapped in linen cloths, and put into a bag, which was sealed by the Judge in the presence of the spectators. The prisoner was then restored to the Priest, who produced him in the same church at the end of three days; when the bag was opened, the bandages taken off, and the arm examined by twelve of his own friends, and twelve of the friends of his prosecutor. If any marks of scalding then appeared upon the arm, the prisoner was found guilty; if no such marks could be discovered, he was acquitted.*

The ordeal of hot iron was of two kinds, and performed either with a ball of iron, or with a certain number of plough-shares. The former was conducted in this manner: A ball of iron was prepared, of one, two, or three pounds weight, according to the

* Du Conge Glos. in voc. Aquæ ferventis judicium.

nature of the accusation. When all the prayers and other religious ceremonies were finished, which were much the same as the other ordeals, the ball was put into a fire, and made red hot;—it was then taken out of the fire, and the prisoner having signed himself with the cross, and sprinkled himself with holy water, took the ball of hot iron in his hand and carried it to the distance of nine feet; after which his hand was wrapped in a cloth and put into a bag, and sealed up for three days; at the expiration of which, it was examined in the presence of twelve persons of each party. If any marks of burning appeared upon it, the accused was found guilty; if none, he was pronounced innocent.*

The other way of performing this ordeal was, by making the person who was to be tried, to walk blindfold, with his feet bare, over nine hot plough-shares, placed at certain distances. If he did this without being burnt, he was adjudged innocent; if not, guilty. This *seemingly* dangerous ordeal of hot iron was appropriated only to persons of high rank.

If we suppose, that few or none escaped conviction who exposed themselves to these fiery trials, we shall be very much mistaken.

* Ibid. voc Ferrum candens.

For (says Dr. Henry, to whom we are indebted for these remarks,) the histories of those times contain innumerable examples of persons plunging their naked arms into boiling hot water, handling red hot balls of iron, and walking upon burning ploughshares without the least injury. Many learned men have been much puzzled to account for this, and disposed to think that Providence graciously interposed in a miraculous manner, for the preservation of injured innocence. But if we examine every circumstance of these fiery ordeals with due attention, we shall see sufficient reason to suspect that the whole was a gross imposition on the credulity of mankind. The accused person was committed wholly to the Priest who was to perform the ceremony three days before the trial; in which he had time enough to bargain with him for his deliverance, and give him instructions how to act his part. On the day of the trial, no person was permitted to enter the church, but the Priest and the accused, till after the iron was heated; when twelve friends of the accuser and twelve of the accused, and no more were admitted, and ranged along the wall on each side of the church, at a respectful distance. After the iron was taken out of the fire, several prayers were said,—

the accused drunk a cup of holy water, and sprinkled his hand with it; which might take a considerable time, if the Priest was indulgent. His hand was not immediately examined, but wrapped in a cloth, prepared for the purpose, three days. May we not, then, from all these precautions, suspect that these Priests were in possession of some secret that secured the hand from the impressions of such a momentary touch of hot iron, or removed all appearances of these impressions in three days; and that they made use of this secret when they saw reason? What greatly strengthens these suspicions is, that we meet with no example of any champion of the church who suffered the least injury from the touch of hot iron in this ordeal; but when any one was so fool-hardy as to appeal to it, or to that of hot water, with a view to deprive the church of any of her possessions, he never failed to burn his fingers, and lose his cause.

By the twelfth canon it is decreed, that fifty psalms shall be sung for the King every Friday, in every monastery and cathedral church.*

In the year A. D. 941, King Athelstan died at Gloucester, and having never been married, was succeeded in the throne of

* See Spelman Concil.

England by his brother Edmund, then only eighteen years of age. Edmund began his reign with a display of such wisdom, prudence, and spirit in all his measures, as led his people to hope for a happy and glorious reign. These pleasing anticipations were blasted by the premature death of that excellent Prince, which happened in a very extraordinary way. When the King was solemnizing the feast of St. Augustine, the Apostle of the English at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, an audacious robber named Leolf, had the confidence to enter the hall where the King and his nobles were feasting. An officer attempted to turn him out, but Leolf making resistance, the King, flushed with liquor, and inflamed with passion, sprung from his seat, seized him by the hair, and brought him to the ground. The ruffian reduced to this extremity, drew his dagger, and plunged it into the bosom of his sovereign, who instantly expired.*

Thus perished King Edmund, in the seventh year of his reign, and twenty-fourth of his age, A. D. 948, leaving two infant sons, Edwi, and Edgar. He was succeeded by his brother Edred, who falling into a declining state of health, he resigned his conscience, his treasures, and his authority

* Chron. Saxon p. 115. vide Henry.

into the hands of St. Dunstan, by whom they were very much abused. That he was capable of such abuse the following account of him will fully develope.

One of the most remarkable characters of this age was Dunstan, who was born near Glastonbury, in the year A. D. 925;—one of his uncles was the Archbishop of Canterbury; another was Bishop of Winchester, and he was distantly related to the royal family. A short time before his birth, his parents, Heorstan and Cynethryth, were at church on the festival of the Purification, (Candlemas,) when every one who attended the service of the church at that festival, walked in procession each carrying in their hand a lighted candle. In the midst of the service, the lamps and tapers were all suddenly extinguished, and the church though at mid-day was filled with a preternatural darkness, which threw the whole congregation into a violent paroxism of fear and trembling. Whilst they were wondering what this strange thing might portend, a fire descended from heaven, and kindled the taper in Cynethryth's hand, thus miraculously foreshewing how great a light should from her be born into the world.

Dunstan when a child, was taken by his father to pass the vigil of some great holiday

in devotional exercises; and falling asleep, he saw in a vision, a venerable old man, with a heavenly countenance, in garments as white as snow, who told him that the building must be enlarged and elevated.—He then led him over the ground which he measured with a line, pointing out the plan and dimensions of the work he was to accomplish, which left an indelible impression on his mind.

Glastonbury Abbey, which in after ages became so famous, was founded by Ina, about the year A. D. 700, but the monkish writers who scarcely knew how to record a fact, without first manufacturing a fictious miracle to clothe it in, have unblushingly told us that the edifice was not the work of human hands, but that Joseph of Aremathea found it miraculously placed there for his reception. That St. Patrick, who had chosen it for a place of retirement, was miraculously directed to a certain writing which informed him, that whosoever should visit the near Tor in honour of St. Michael, would obtain thirty years indulgence, in confirmation of which, his left arm was withered, until he made it known that our Lord had chosen that eminence for a place where men might acceptably invoke the Archangel.

When the church was finished, St. David came to Glastonbury, for the purpose of consecrating it to the Holy Virgin; but our Lord appeared to him in a vision, and told him that the ceremony must not be profaned by any man's repeating it, for he himself had long ago performed it to the honour of his Blessed Mother; and then perforating the Bishop's hand with his finger, in proof of the reality of the vision, left him, with an assurance that during mass on the ensuing day, the wound should be closed as suddenly as it was inflicted, a promise which did not fail to be fulfilled.*

Glastonbury was the undoubted burial-place of King Arthur, whose coffin was found as follows:—When King Henry II, was at an entertainment at Kilgerran Castle, in Pembrokeshire, he heard one of the Welsh Bards relate a tradition describing the exact spot between the obelisk stone where King Arthur was interred at Glastonbury. The King ordered proper search to be made; and when the men had dug to the depth of seven feet, they found a flat stone which covered the grave. Upon the under side of the stone, and inserted into a cavity within it, was a leaden cross, with an

† Southey B. C. vol 1. p. 94.

inscription in rude but legible charaters to this effect,

HIC JACET SEPULTUS
INCLYTUS REX ARTHURUS
IN INSULA AVALONIA.

The letters are large capitals, filling up the whole space of the cross, in that promiscuous manner usual in ancient inscriptions. Upon descending nine feet lower, the coffin was found, containing the bones of an extraordinary size. These as well as the inscription, were shewn to Giraldus Cambrensis, by Henry de Sully, the Abbot: the leg bone of the Monarch was applied to that of a very tall man, and rose three fingers above the knee, and this experiment was made in the presence of Giraldus. The King commanded the remains to be removed into the greater church, and deposited in a magnificent shrine, which was afterwards, by order of King Edward I, placed before the high altar. There they remained till the time of Henry VIII, who overturned the monasteries, and with them destroyed many of our antiquities.† There was another tradition, that Joseph of Arimathea was interred in some unknown spot deep under the hill, where, according to his own desire, two vessels filled with the real blood of our Saviour were placed in the sepulchre with him;

† Horæ Britan. Ap. p. 398.

and in the fulness of time these precious relicks would be discovered, and such numerous and splendid miracles would then be wrought by them, that the whole world would repair thither for devotion.

Dunstan pursued his studies under the tuition of some monks from Ireland, who supported themselves at Glastonbury by educating the children of the nobles. He was from his birth, of diminutive size, weak constitution, and a strong intellect. As soon as he attained the requisite age he entered into orders but continued to pursue his studies in the same monastery. He was equally famous for his skill in music and painting; also as a mechanic, for his workmanship in wood, wax, ivory, silver and gold.

As a punishment for his sin in having felt a desire of entering into the married state, he built himself a miserable cell against the wall of the monastery, which was more like a grave than the habitation of a living man. It was five feet long, two feet and a half wide, and not above four in height, above the ground; but the ground was excavated, so that he could stand upright in it, though it was impossible for him to lie there at full length. The door filled up one side, and the window was in the door. This was his forge and workshop, as well as his dwelling-

place, and this was the scene of the most notorious miracle in the monastic history of England. It was here that he was so frequently annoyed by the devil, who sometimes came in the shape of a bear, sometimes of a dog, a serpent, or a fox. One night when he was working at the forge, he came in a human form to tempt him with wanton conversation. When Dunstan saw who it was, he suffered him to proceed with his discourse till he had heated his tongs red hot, and with them seized his satanic majesty by the nose. Next morning his neighbours came to inquire into the cause of those horrible cries which had awoke them out of sleep; when Dunstan told them the story, the truth of which not being called into question, his purpose was effected.

Not long after, the fame of the above miracle reached the ears of King Edmund, who invited him to court and made him Abbot of Glastonbury, A. D. 941.

After the death of Edmund, Dunstan retained his favour in the court of Edrid his successor, who would have made him Bishop of Crediton, but Dunstan modestly declined the promotion, and recommended another more proper person to the see. Next morning he related to the King what had befallen him in the night. That St. Peter, St. Paul,

and St. Andrew, had appeared to him in the night, and had chastised him severely for refusing to be of their fellowship; they warned him against committing that sin a second time, nor to refuse the primacy when it should be offered him, for that he must one day travel to Rome.

Dunstan was very much admired by King Edred, who made him his Prime Minister and Confessor. He employed all his influence during the short reign of Edred, who was suffering under a slow and wasting disease, in promoting the interest of the benedictine monks, in opposition to the secular canons. Having the treasures of the crown at his command, he lavished away immense sums in building and endowing monasteries for these monks; and then as the King's Confessor, he persuaded him by his last will to bestow such treasures upon the churches and monasteries, that the crown was stripped of its most valuable possessions, and left in a state of indigence.*

Edwy succeeded his uncle Edred, (A. D. 955,) at the age of sixteen. He was then married to Elgiva, who was distantly related to him; and the rude and brutal behaviour of Dunstan toward him and his beloved Queen, raised the resentment of that

* Inett's Church Hist vol. 1. p. 316. Extr. Henry, vol. 3.

Prince so high that he deprived him of all his preferments, and drove him into exile, and it is said, that had he not embarked with all haste, messengers would have overtaken him with orders to put out his eyes. But Edwy found an enemy not less implacable in Otho, Archbishop of Canterbury; who having pronounced against him sentence of divorce, and sent armed men into the palace to seize Elgiva, branded her in the face for infamy with a red hot iron, and then banished her to Ireland. On this tragical act Dr. Southey remarks, "The Ministers in this execrable act were less inhuman than their employers; they performed their orders so imperfectly, that when the wounds healed no deformity remained, and Elgiva escaping from banishment, returned to England to rejoin her husband. She was overtaken at Gloucester by Odo's people, and hamstrung to prevent the possibility of a second escape: the monsters who perpetrated this accursed deed are called the servants of God by the monkish biographer, and the crime itself has been recorded as a meritorious action. The beautiful Elgiva's sufferings were soon after terminated by death."*

Of the bold aspiring and intolerant spirit of Odo, we may form an opinion from his

* Dr. Southey's Book of the Church, vol 1. c. 6.

famous pastoral letter to the Clergy of his province, published A. D. 943, in which, though in his old age, he speaks in a high magisterial tone;—"I strictly command and "charge," says he, "that no man presume "to lay any tax on the possessions of the "Clergy, who are the sons of God, and "the sons of God ought to be free from all "taxes in every kingdom.—If any man "dares to disobey the discipline of the church "in this particular, he is more wicked and "impudent than the soldiers who crucified "Christ.--I command the King, the Princes, "and all in authority, to obey, with great "humility, the Archbishops and Bishops, "for they have the keys of the kingdom of "heaven."* The above were published entirely on his own authority.

To prevent Edwy from visiting the acters in this hateful tragedy with merited punishment, Odo set up his younger brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen, as King, who usurped all his dominions north of the river Thames. Edgar recalled Dunstan, and promoted him to the see of Worcester, A. D. 957.

When Odo performed the ceremony he consecrated him Archbishop of Canterbury instead of Bishop of Worcester. One of the by-standers, who was not in the secret,

* Spelman Con. t. 1. p. 416. Wilk. Con. t. 1. p. 212, ext. Henry.

reproved the Primate for this, saying that "it was against the canons to have two Archbishops for the same see at one time; and that he had no authority thus to elect his own successor." But Odo, audaciously replied, "that what he had done was not his own act; he had spoken under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost, Dunstan being destined to succeed him in the primacy, as the most redoubted champion against the Prince of this world."* From this time Dunstan became the chief Counsellor and Prime Minister of King Edgar, who entrusted him with all the affairs of the state civil and ecclesiastical.

The following year Odo died, when through the exertion of the secular Clergy, Elfin, Bishop of Winchester, was by King Edwy promoted to the primacy. On his way to Rome to receive his pall, he was lost in the snow, by attempting to cross the Alps at a dangerous season. On this second vacancy, Edwy procured the election of Brithelm, Bishop of either Wells, or Dorcester. This year Edwy was taken away by a violent death, and Edgar became sole Monarch of England, A. D. 959. Complaints were now made against the Archbishop that he was remiss in correcting the

* Ibid.

offences; a phrase by which the monks meant, that he did not compel the Clergy to put away their wives. The new Archbishop Brithelm, was an unaspiring man, of a soft and generous disposition; and at the desire of Edgar, returned to his former Bishopric, and Dunstan was elected to the dignified station to which he had long aspired. In conforming to the custom of the time, and as a fulfilment of his own prediction, he went to Rome, and received his pall from the hands of Pope John XII.

Dunstan being now invested with the power of the primacy, and assured of the royal support, he prepared for executing his grand design, which was, that of compelling the secular Clergy to put away their wives and become monks, or of driving them out, and supplying their places with Benedictine monks. He had proved his own abilities for working miracles, and had reaped the fruit of their never-failing effects; he therefore thought proper to grace the first performance in his archiepiscopal office with a splendid miracle, of the most imposing kind. While he was performing his first mass, a dove alighted upon him, and remained during the whole ceremony; when it was impiously asserted, that it was the same dove that descended from heaven and alighted

upon our Saviour when he was baptized in the river Jordan. He also affirmed, that in a dream he saw his own mother solemnly espoused to the King of Heaven,—that all the choirs of heaven joined in hymns of joy, and that an angel had taught him an anthem which was sung on the occasion. This anthem he made one of his clerks write down, and had it performed in his church as a divine composition. This dream was said to be symbolical, in which the mother of Dunstan was a type of the church as by him reformed.

To assist him in his work of reforming the church, he procured the promotion of Oswald to the see of Worcester, and of Ethelwald to that of Winchester, who being themselves both monks, were animated with a zeal equal to his own for the advancement of their order, and the suppression of the married Clergy. Their first attempt at reform, was to persuade the married Clergy in their cathedrals and other monasteries, to put away their wives, and take the monastic vows and habits ;* but finding persuasions not to produce the desired effect, they had recourse to means of fraud and violence the most disgraceful.

* Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 219.

Oswald expelled all the married Clergy out of the cathedral church at Worcester, and from seven other monasteries in his diocese, and filled their places with monks, allowing those who were expelled a small pension for life, scarcely sufficient to keep them from starving.* Ethelwald acted, if possible, a still more cruel part. He one day entered the cathedral church, followed by a number of his servants carrying a number of monkish habits, at the time when the married Clergy were performing divine service, when with a stern countenance, the Bishop told them, they must instantly put on these habits and take the vows, or be turned out. The poor Clergy pleaded hard for a little time to consider of a subject in which was involved the welfare of their wives and children, but the cruel prelate would not allow them one moment. A few complied, and left their wives and children to be cast upon the world and treated as prostitutes and vagabonds, but the far greater number chose rather to become beggars than forsake their wives and children, for which their names have been branded with the most opprobrious epithets by the monkish historians, who speak of celibacy as the only state becoming the sanctity of the sacredotal office, and propagated

* Id. t. 2. p. 220.

a thousand lies of miracles and visions to its honour; of which the following may be considered a fair specimen:—A monk, named *Floberht*, who had been appointed Abbot of Pershore, a monastery, out of which Oswald had turned the secular canons. Floberht was a most fiery zealot for the monastic institutions, but in other respects a very indifferent character. This Abbot fell sick and died; and when all the monks of his own monastery, with Germanus, Abbot of Winchelcomb, and many others were standing about his corpse; to their great astonishment, he raised himself up, and looked around him. All the monks were struck with terror, and fled, except Germanus, who asked his brother Abbot what he had seen, and what had brought him back to life? To which the other answered, That he had been introduced into heaven by St. Benedict;—that God had pardoned all his sins for the *merits of his beloved darling Oswald*, Bishop of Worcester; and had sent him back to acquaint the world, that Oswald was one of the greatest saints that ever lived. Being asked further by Germanus what kind of figure St. Benedict made in heaven? how he was dressed, and how he was attended? he answered, That St. Benedict was one of the handsomest and best dressed saints in

heaven, shining with precious stones, and attended by innumerable multitudes of monks and nuns, who were all perfect beauties.† Such pious frauds answered the purpose very well during the life of King Edgar, who had committed himself entirely into the hands of the monks, who were to defend him from the devil and his angels, and he had pledged himself to protect them against their earthly opponents. He gave them a formal commission dated A. D. 969, to expel the married Clergy out of all the cathedrals and larger monasteries, promising to assist them in the execution of it with all his power. In virtue of this commission, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, and Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, expelled all the married Clergy out of forty-eight monasteries, which they filled with monks of the Benedictine order.‡

Though Edgar got the epithet Peaceable, he was one of the most profligate Princes, and stuck at nothing to gratify his own passions. He ravished a nun, a young lady of noble birth and great beauty; at which his father confessor Dunstan, was so offended, that he imposed upon him by way of penance, not to wear his crown for seven years,

† Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 201. vide Henry. vol. 3. p. 274. ‡ Ibid.

—to build a nunnery,—and to persecute the married Clergy with all his might.† Whilst under his penance he pronounced a most flaming speech to Dunstan and his coadjutors, against those abominable wretches who kept wives. "I know," says he, in the conclusion of his speech, "O holy father Dunstan! that you have not encouraged those criminal practices of the Clergy. You have reasoned, intreated, threatened. From words it is now time to come to blows. All the power of the crown is at your command. Your brethren, venerable Ethelwald, and the most reverend Oswald, will assist you. To you three I commit the execution of this important work. Strike boldly;—drive those irregular livers out of the church of Christ, and introduce others, who will live according to rule."‡

Several councils were held during the reign of Edgar, in one of which those sixty-seven canons, commonly called the canons of King Edgar, were enacted. Though many of those contain nothing new, we may learn from some of them, what progress Christianity had made in this land in the tenth century. The sixteenth canon commands the Clergy to use all diligence in preventing the people from practising those hea-

† Spel. Concil. t. i. p. 482. ‡ Ibid. p. 478.

then rites which were still observed, such as the worship of trees, stones, fountains, &c. The fifty-fourth recommends the Clergy to be very earnest in exhorting the people to pay all their dues to the church honestly, and at the proper time;—their plough-alms fifteen nights after Easter,—their tithes of young animals at Pentecost,—their tithes of corn at All-Saints,—their Peter-pence at Lammas,—and their church-scot at Martinmas. To these canons is subjoined a penitential, which some suppose was from the pen of Dunstan,—it requires penitents to be very particular in confessing all their sins which they have committed by their bodies, their skin, their flesh, their bones, their sinews, their reins, their gristles, their tongues, their lips, their palates, their teeth, their hair, their marrow, by every thing soft or hard, wet or dry. Confessors are then directed what kind of penances to prescribe in a great variety of cases. The most satisfactory penances for laymen are said to be these:—To desist from carrying arms,—to go upon long pilgrimages,—never to stay two nights in the same place,—never to cut their hair, or pare their nails, or go into a warm bath, or a soft bed,—not to eat flesh, or drink strong liquors,—and if they were rich, to build and endow churches. Long

fastings of several years are prescribed as the proper penances for many offences; but these fastings were not so formidable as they appear at first sight, especially to the rich, who might either fast by proxy, or redeem a year's fasting by paying into the funds of the church, thirty shillings, equal in quantity of silver to ninety shillings of our money, and in value to more than thirty pounds. A rich man, who had many friends and dependents, might despatch a seven years fast in three days, by procuring eight hundred and forty men to fast for him three days on bread, and water, and vegetables. From the above it appears that the discipline of the church was then in a very laxed state, as the method of fasting by proxy, which was condemned in the council of Cloveshoos, A. D. 747, was now in common practice.

The three commissioners for driving the married Clergy out of the cathedrals and monasteries, and establishing the Benedictine monks, met with a vigorous resistance after the death of Edgar, A. D. 975, from the widowed Queen and many of the nobles. Elferc, Duke of Mercia, drove the monks by force out of all the provinces in that extensive kingdom, and brought back the married Canons with their wives and children; these were again ejected by Dunstan, who

had got possession of the young King Edward, and was assisted by Elfwin Duke of East-Anglia, and Brithnot Duke of Essex, who raised a body of troops in defence of Dunstan and his monks. But the wily primate soon found that force alone was not to be relied on; he therefore convened a synod which was held in the old monastery at Winchester, A. D. 977, in which he found it necessary in order to carry his point, to practice some of his *holy stratagems*. When the advocates of the secular Clergy appealed to the King, and entreated that they might be restored to their rightful possessions, the assembly was suddenly alarmed with a voice which proceeded from a crucifix against the wall, saying, "Let it not be! let it not be! you have done well, and would do ill to change it." Under the confusion occasioned by this miraculous piece of *pious craft*, the assembly broke up, and nothing was determined. A second council was assembled at which nothing was effected; but a third was summoned to meet at Calne in Wiltshire, A. D. 978, which Dunstan was determined should prove decisive. The nobles, as well as the heads of both parties attended. The King was kept away because of his youth, though he had been present at both the former meetings. Beornelm, a Scotch Bishop,

pleaded the cause of the married Clergy with great ability; his arguments in their favour were founded upon Scripture, and custom; and proved that reason and morality were powerfully opposed to these *new laws* which enforced celibacy. His speech produced the desired effect on the unprejudiced part of the assembly, to which Dunstan did not attempt to reply. "The arch miracle-monger" had prepared other, and more effectual means to silence his opponents. "You endeavour," said he, "to overcome me, who am now growing old, and disposed to silence rather than contention. I confess that I am unwilling to be overcome; and I commit the cause of his church to Christ himself, as judge." No sooner had he spoken the words, than that part of the floor upon which the Clergy and their friends were arranged fell with them, many being killed in the fall, and others seriously hurt; but the part where Dunstan and his party had taken their seats remained firm.*

Such were the unhallowed means employed by the agents of the church of Rome, for establishing doctrines and customs contrary to the plain truths of revelation;—and equally hypocritical and unscrupulous with Dunstan, about the means of accomplishing

* Southey B. C. vol. p. 113.

their ends, were many of those Saints whose names are blazoned in the Roman Calendar, and to whom the deluded devotees of that corrupt church, are directed to address their prayers, as their patrons and intercessors in heaven.

The young King Edward, was of too mild and gentle a disposition for that iron age in which he lived. His accession to the throne had been powerfully opposed by Elfrida, the Queen dowager, who formed a powerful party to support the pretentions of her son Ethelred. But Edward, by his riper age, his father's last will, and the popularity of St. Dunstan, who espoused his interest, he was at length crowned by that prelate. Edward shewed no resentment against those who had opposed his succession; he treated his rival brother with kindness, and behaved respectfully to his ambitious stepmother. But notwithstanding all his kindness, Elfrida still meditated the destruction of this amiable Prince, nor was it long before the unsuspecting innocence of Edward, afforded her an opportunity of executing her design; for as he was one day hunting near Corfe Castle, where she resided, he rode up to the castle without any attendants to pay her a passing visit. The treacherous Elfrida received him with great seeming kindness;

and upon his declining to alight, presented him with a cup of wine; but as he was drinking he was stabbed in the back, either by her own hand, or by her order. Edward finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse and rode off; but fainting through loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, and was dragged along by his foot sticking in the stirrup till he expired,* A. D. 979. Thus fell this amiable young Prince; and though religion was no way concerned in his death, he obtained the name of *Edward the Martyr*, on account of the innocence of his life, and the many miracles which the monks pretend were wrought at his grave. The succession of her son Ethelred protected the cruel Elfrida from all punishment for this horrid murder; but though she lived many years after, building monasteries and churches; and performing penances, and practising all the tricks of superstition, she never could recover either the peace of her own mind, or the good opinion of the world.†

Edward was succeeded by his half brother Ethelred, the son of Elfrida the murderess. His reign was one of the most eventful in the British History, being one continued series of disgraceful and calamitous wars.

* W. Malms. l. 2. c. 9. Extr. Henry vol. 3. p. 107. † Ibid.

In the early part of this reign died the three famous champions in the cause of monkism, Dunstan, Ethelwald, and Oswald;—these proved themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them, for they manifested such a cruel and fiery zeal in defence of their cause, that they quite eclipsed all their cotemporaries, who are scarcely ever mentioned by the monkish historians. Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, died first, A. D. 984. To his zeal for establishing the interests of the monks, he added the most cruel persecutions against the married Clergy. At his death the canons made a noble effort to get one of their own order elected to the vacant see; and probably would have succeeded, had not Dunstan, who saw what turn the matter was likely to take, had recourse to his old stratagem. He announced that St. Andrew the Apostle, had appeared unto him, and assured him that Elphigus, Abbot of Bath, was the fittest person in the world for that charge; by which the Archbishop procured his advancement to the Bishopric.*

Dunstan did not long enjoy the fruit of this pious fraud; he died A. D. 988, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, having held the Bishopric of London, together with the

* Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 221. ibid.

Archbishopric of Canterbury, about twenty years.† The Author of the Book of the Church, (to whom we are indebted for the particulars of his death,) remarks, that his end was worthy of his life; for during those juggling ages, when the chief performers in the Romish church were no longer able or willing to act wonders for themselves, ready instruments were always at hand to carry on the system of deceit to the last. When his death was approaching, a Priest, who, on the eve of Assension-day, had been keeping vigils in the church, declared he had seen Dunstan seated on his archiepiscopal throne, and dictating laws to the Clergy; when, behold, a multitude of Cherubim and Seraphim entered at all the doors, attired in glittering white garments, and wearing crowns of gold. And here says a benedictine historian, the greatness of his sanctity must be observed; they were not any angels who came to escort him, but those only of the highest orders in the hierarchy of heaven, even Cherubim and Seraphim themselves. They arranged themselves in order before the Saint, and addressed him, saying, "Hail, our Dunstan! if thou art ready, come, and enter into our fellowship!" But the Saint made answer, "Holy Spirits, ye know that

† Godwin de Præsul. Angl. p. 75.

upon this day Christ ascended into heaven: it is my duty to refresh the people of God both with words, and with the sacrament at this time; and therefore I cannot come to-day." In condescension to his wishes, a farther respite than he required was granted, and they promised to return for him on the Saturday.

Accordingly on Ascension-day, St. Dunstan officiated for the last time; he preached upon the mysteries of religion as he had never preached before, such was the fervour with which the prospect of his near glorification inspired him; and when he gave the people his blessing, his countenance became like that of an angel, and was suffused with a splendour, wherein it was apparent that the Holy Spirit was pleased to make his presence visible. He then exhorted them to remember him and his exhortations, for the time of his departure was at hand, and he must no longer abide among them. At this such lamentations were set up as if the world were at an end, and the day of judgment had begun; and the Priest, who hitherto had doubted whether what he had beheld during the night were a vision, or an actual appearance, knew not that it was real, and with tears and groans related before the congregation all that he had seen and heard.—

The Saint, after taking his last meal, re-entered the church, and fixed upon the place for his grave. He then went to his bed; and as he lay there, surrounded by his monks, he and the bed whereon he was lying, were thrice, by some unseen power, elevated from the floor to the ceiling, and gently lowered again, while the attendants, as if terrified with the prodigy, and believing that their Saint, like Elijah, was to be translated in the body, started from the bedside, and clung to the walls and door-posts. Saturday came, and the Cherubim and Seraphim, according to their promise, descended to escort him: they were not, indeed, visible to others, but he saw them, and as the monks knew this, the people believed it. "See," says one of his biographers, "how he hath been honoured whom God thought worthy of honour! see in what manner he hath entered into the joy of his Lord, who was found faithful to the doctrine committed to his charge!"*

* See Book of the Church, vol. 1. p. 114-116.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dunstan succeeded by Ethelgar.—Death of St. Oswald.—Baneful influence of Popery on the national character.—Ælfric made Primate.—His Canons.—Bishop Oswald's reply to Earl Alwine, when he asked what he must do to obtain pardon for his sins.—Rage for Relicks.—Singing substituted for other parts of worship.—Massacre of the Danes.—Danish invasion.—Council at Ensham.—Death of Alphage.—Miracle wrought at St. Magnus' Church.—Council at Habham.—Murder of King Edmund.—Council at London.—Canute reproves his flatterers.—His pilgrimage to Rome.—General Remarks.

Dunstan was succeeded in the See of Canterbury by Ethelgar, who only filled the chair one year and three months; being put to death by the inhuman Danes, who landed a strong party of plunderers, that over-ran a great part of Kent. Ethelgar was succeeded by Siricus, Bishop of Wilton, who had been a monk of Glastonbury, and a disciple of Dunston.

St. Oswald, the friend and associate of St. Dunstan in the expulsion of the married Clergy, and introduction of the monks, died A. D. 993, after he had held the Archbishopric of York, together with the Bishop-

ric of Worcester, about twenty-two years. From the circumstance of these two noted Saints, each holding two Bishoprics together for so many years, it requires some stretch of charity to give them credit for all that heavenly-mindedness which their admirers ascribe to them.

The unhappy change for the worse in the religion of this country, by the establishment of popish superstitions, brought a desolating flood on its miserable inhabitants. Dunstan and his associates had promoted the building and endowing of a great number of religious houses, for the entertainment of an incredible number of monks and nuns. This change had diffused an unmanly and superstitious spirit through all ranks of society; and diverted the attention from more proper and rational pursuits. A very large proportion of the land was put into the hands of those who contributed nothing to its defence; and may be considered as the chief cause, why the country fell so easy a prey, first to the insulting Danes, and afterwards to the victorious Normans.

The incursions of the Danes became both more frequent and formidable. In A. D. 991, they defeated an English army near Maldon, when the commander Duke Brithnot was slain, and such was the pusillanimity

of the King and his council, that instead of rousing the spirit of the nation to revenge such a murderous assault, the King by the advice of Siricius Archbishop of Canterbury, he gave the Danes a bribe of £10,000, to return to their own country. This cowardly and impolitick act gave great encouragement to other adventurers, whose demands increased in proportion to the extent of their spoilations and murders; for an army of these destructive ravagers, after sacking the town of Rochester, and desolating the country on both sides of the Thames and the Medway, they demanded, and actually obtained, the sum of £24,000, as the lowest condition on which they would quit the country.

Siricius, Archbishop of Canterbury, died A. D. 995, and was succeeded by Ælfric, Bishop of Wilton, who was one of the most learned men, and voluminous writers of the age. This prelate lamented the incapacity of many of the Clergy to instruct the people in the principles and precepts of religion, to supply their lack of which, he translated no fewer than eighty sermons or homilies from the Latin into the Saxon language.—These sermons were suited to different seasons and occasions, and were designed to be read by the inferior Clergy to the people at

these seasons. The sermon for Easter Sunday,—on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, has been often reprinted, and from the following passage, it is evident that the Church of England had not yet embraced the doctrine of transubstantiation. "The body "that Christ suffered in was born of the "flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, "with skin and with sinews, in human "limbs, with a reasonable living soul: but "his spiritual body, which we call the *housel*, "is gathered of many corns, without blood "and bone, without limb, without soul; "and therefore nothing is to be understood "therein bodily, but spiritually. Whatever "is in the housel which giveth life, that is "spiritual virtue, and invisible energy.— "Christ's body that suffered death, and "rose from death, shall never die again, "but is eternal and unpassible; but housel "is temporal, not eternal, corruptible, and "dealed into sundry parts, chewed between "the teeth, and sent into the belly. This "mystery is a pledge and a figure; Christ's "body is truth itself. This pledge we do "keep mystically until we come to the truth "itself, and then is this pledge ended."* It is hardly possible to express the sentiments of the Church of England, and of

* Notes on Bede, Extr. Henry, vol. 3, p. 287.

all other Protestant Churches, on this subject, in plainer words than these; nor can the most artful sophister accommodate them to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Ælfric composed a kind of episcopal charge, which seems as if designed as a form for Bishops in instructing their Clergy. The several injunctions are delivered in an authoritative tone, in the form of commands, and are generally called *Ælfric's canons*, though there is no appearance of their having been enacted by any ecclesiastical synod. These canons are thirty-seven in number, and contain many curious particulars concerning the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England in those times. In several of the first of these canons, he argues strenuously against the marriage of Priests; from which it appears that the Clergy of England were at this time generally married, and that they firmly defended the lawfulness of their marriages. This appears from the language of Ælfric in one of his canons on the subject. "These canons against the "marriages of Priests, seem strange to you "to hear, for ye have so brought your "wretched doings into fashion, as if there "was no danger in Priests living like mar-"ried men. The Priests now reply, that "St. Peter was a married man, and that

"they cannot live without the company of "a woman."

By another of these canons, the Clergy are forbidden to be present at a marriage, or to give their benediction, when either of the parties had been married before; though such marriages are not declared to be absolutely unlawful, but only to be discouraged. Among these canons are found the names and offices of the seven orders of the Clergy, which are these:—1. The *Ostiary*, who is to open and shut the church doors, and ring the bells.—2. The *Lector*, who is to read the scriptures in the church.—3. The *Exorcist*, whose office is to drive out evil spirits by invocations and adjurations.—4. The *Acolyth*, who holds the tapers at the reading of the gospels, and celebrating mass.—5. The *Subdeacon*, who is to bring forth the holy vessels, and attend the Deacon at the altar.—6. The *Deacon*, who ministers to the mass-priest, places the oblation on the altar, reads the gospel, baptizeth children, and gives the housel to the people.—7. The *Mass-Priest*, or Presbyter, who preaches, baptizes, and consecrates the housel. This canon declares that the Bishop is of the same order with the Presbyter, but more honourable. By another of these canons, the Clergy are commanded to sing

the seven tide-songs at their appointed hours, namely, the *ught-song*, or mattins, early in the morning,—the *prime-song*, at seven o'clock,—the *undern-song* at nine o'clock,—the *mid-day* song at twelve o'clock,—the *none-song* at three o'clock after noon,—and the *night-song* at nine o'clock at night.—Another of these canons directs the Priests to provide themselves with all the necessary books for performing divine service, namely, the psalter, the epistle-book, the gospel-book, the mass-book, the song-book, the hand-book, the Kalendar, the passional, the penitential, and the reading-book.—The Priests are also commanded to explain to the people the gospel for the day, every Sunday in English, and to teach them the Creed and *Pater-noster* in English as often as they can. The twenty-seventh canon forbids the Priests to take money for baptizing children, or performing any other part of their duty. The priests are commanded by these canons, always to have by them a sufficient quantity of oil which had been consecrated by the Bishop for baptizing children and anointing the sick; but that no sick person should be anointed unless he desired it. The last of these canons is in the form of an epistle, which was given

to each Priest on Maunday Thursday,* when he came or sent to the Bishop for his annual stock of consecrated chrism and oil; and contains several directions about the celebration of mass, and other offices.—Among many other ceremonies to be performed on Good-Friday, the people are directed to adore and kiss the cross. The ignorance which then so generally prevailed, gave birth to many novel superstitions.—Some of the Priests imagined that the sacramental bread consecrated on Easter-day, was more efficacious than that which was hallowed at any other time; and, therefore, they used to consecrate a great quantity on that day, and keep it through the whole year for the use of the sick. This practice is condemned, because when the consecrated bread was kept so long, it was apt to become stale,—to be lost,—or eaten by mice. The Priests are directed to mix water with the sacramental wine, "because the wine betokeneth our redemption through Christ's blood, and the water betokeneth the people for whom he suffered." He com-

* Maunday Thursday is derived by Spelman, from *mande*, a hand-basket, in which the King was accustomed to give alms to the poor; others derive it from *dies mandati*, the day on which our Saviour gave his great mandate, That we should love one another. The Thursday in Passion-week, which was thus named from the command which our Saviour gave his Apostles to commemorate him in the Lord's Supper, which he this day instituted.

manded them to observe a number of fast-days, particularly every Friday, except from Easter to Pentecost, and from Midwinter to Twelfth-night. Sunday was to be kept from Saturday at noon to Monday morning.*

The manner in which auricular confession is conducted, puts the Priests in possession of every information respecting the persons, property, and connexions of the people, as they are taught, that if they do not relate every thing they know in reply to every question the Priest may put, his absolution will be null.

The influence this gives the Priest over the consciences and conduct of the people is almost absolute. In confirmation of the above we notice the following fact. Earl Alwine, who lived in the reign of Edgar, was the richest nobleman in England. He consulted St. Oswald, Bishop of York, what he should do to obtain the pardon of his sins? In reply to that most important question, the Saint made him the following harangue: "I beseech your excellency to believe, that those holy men who have retired from the world and spend their days in poverty, are the greatest favourites of heaven, and the greatest blessings to the world. It is by their merits that the divine judgments

* See Spel. Con. t. i. p. 572-582. Johnson's Canons, A. D. 957. Henry, vol. 3, p. 290.

are averted and changed ;—that plagues and famines are removed ;—that healthful seasons and plentiful harvests are procured ;—that states and kingdoms are governed ;—that prisons are opened,—captives delivered,--shipwrecks prevented,--the weak strengthened,—and the sick healed :—that I may say all in one word, it is by their merits that this world, so full of wickedness, is preserved from immediate ruin and destruction. I intreat you, therefore, my dear son, if you have any place in your estate fit for that purpose, that you immediately build a monastery, and fill it with holy monks, whose prayers will supply all your defects, and expiate all your crimes."* The building of Ramsey abbey it is said was the fruit of this fine speech.

The excessive avarice of the English Clergy after the establishment of Popery, could only be exceeded by the barefaced knavery by which they accomplished their selfish ends. To people of property, they were perpetually preaching, that the world was near an end, and the day of judgment at hand, and by working upon their fears, induce them to bequeath a part of their property to the church for the good of their souls. "King Ethelwulf," says Asserius,

* Hist. Ramsiens, p. 397.

"like a wise man, made his testament in writing, and divided his estate between his soul and his children; what he gave to his children I need not mention; what he gave to his soul was as follows," &c. &c. The monkish writers have bestowed the most extravagant encomiums on Ætheric, Bishop of Dorchester, for his dexterity in making a Danish nobleman drunk; and when in that condition, buying a fine estate from him for a mere trifle; of which estate, the good Bishop made a grant to the abbey of Ramsey.* The monks were very zealous in prevailing upon rich men to become monks themselves, or to make some of their sons monks, by which they gained great accessions both of wealth and credit, for when they got possession of their persons, they were certain of their estates. When they failed in persuading the rich to renounce the world while in life, they made them believe that it would be of great benefit to their souls to have their bodies buried in a monastery near the relicks of some noted Saint; a privilege which could not be procured but for a very valuable consideration. It was also a common practice in those times, for monasteries to grant to some rich man one of their estates during his own life,

* Hist. Eliens. p. 441, vide Henry, vol. 4, p. 302.

upon condition that it should revert to the monastery at his death, accompanied by another estate of his own of equal value for the good of his soul.

Among other corruptions with which the church of Rome vitiated the minds of her followers was, an insatiable ambition for possessing relicks. Never did the hero display greater ardour for the victor's prize, or the aspiring Prince more earnestly covet the laurels of a crown, than the Priests and other religious characters of this period, prized filthy old rags, rotten bones, and rusty nails, &c. These were sent by the greatest Princes to each other as the most valuable presents,—preserved by churches and monasteries, as their most inestimable treasures, deposited in caskets adorned with gold and precious stones, and were never seen without having an act of adoration paid to them, by those who were honoured with a sight.

It was about this period that the famous Turketul, who had been Chancellor of England, and one of the greatest warriors and statesmen of his time, retired from the world, and became Abbot of Croyland Abbey. At his death, says Ingulphus, he left the abbey of Croyland, "very rich in relicks, which that holy Abbot had received

from Henry Emperor of Germany; Hugh King of France; Louis Prince of Aquitain, and many other Dukes, Earls, Nobles, and Prelates, when he was Chancellor of England. Among these he had the greatest veneration for a thumb of the Apostle St. Bartholomew, which he constantly carried about him, and with which he signed himself in all times of danger, tempests, and thunder. This most precious relick had been presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Beneventum, when he Knighted him; and by the Emperor to Turketul while he was Chancellor. He had also a lock of the hair of Mary the mother of God, which the King of France had given him inclosed in a box of gold;—also a bone of St. Leodegarius, the Bishop and martyr, which he had received from the Prince of Aquitain."*

Whilst this *relick-fever* was raging the most unhallowed means were used to obtain those precious treasures. The Priests and monks made a merit of being guilty of theft, robbery, or almost any crime to get them into their own possession. If a monk had the dexterity to steal a finger, or a toe of some famous Saint from another monastery, he was esteemed as the greatest and happiest of men among his brethren.† When real

* Ingulphi Hist. p. 505. Extr. Henry. † Anglia Sacra. t. 2, p. 39.

relicks could not be procured, false ones were manufactured to supply the place, and being recommended to the deluded multitudes, by a thousand improbable tales of the miracles wrought by them, they were venerated, or rather idolized, by the people without the least examination.

The prevalence of Popery produced a great change in the public worship of God, both in this and other countries. Instead of the prayers being devoutly read, and the people instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity by a faithful Ministry, the service consisted chiefly in psalmody. In some cathedrals and larger monasteries, this exercise was continued both night and day without intermission, by a constant succession of Priests and singers, with whom the laity occasionally joined. By this kind of worship, says Murator, in his *Antiquitas Dissertat*, "Both the ears and minds of the people of all ranks were so much charmed with this incessant melody of the monks, that it contributed not a little to increase their zeal and liberality in building monasteries." This taste for psalmody, very much increased after the introduction of organs into churches, which took place during the ninth century: "whose pipes of copper," to use the words of a writer of that age,

"being winded by bellows, and furnished with proper stops and keys, sent forth a most loud and ravishing music that was heard at a great distance."* In the reign of King Edgar, there was a double kind of organ at Winchester cathedral, such as (if the description be correct,) England cannot equal even in the present day. This gigantic instrument had twelve bellows in one row above, and fourteen in another below. These were blown alternately, with great power, as it required seventy stout men to manage them. "With music like this, who can be so illiberal as to doubt, that angels were attracted by the charming sound, while all the pipes of this royal instrument played to the praise and glory of God!!!"†

Even the private devotions of the good people of those times consisted almost entirely in singing a prodigious number of psalms, which was esteemed the most effectual means of appeasing the wrath of heaven, and making an atonement for their own sins, or for the sins of their friends, either living or dead. It was commonly an article in those voluntary associations called *gilds*, or *fraternities*, so frequent among the Anglo Saxons, "that each member should sing

* Hist. Ramsien. p. 420. vide Henry vol. 4. p 307. † Horæ Britan. p. 372.

two psalms every day, one for all the members that were living, and the other for all that had been members, but were dead; and that at the death of a member, each of the surviving members should sing six psalms for the repose of his soul.*" The above accounts are sufficient to convince us that our Saxon ancestors were sincerely desirous of recommending themselves to the divine favour;—witness, their liberal donations to the churches;—the long dangerous and expensive pilgrimages;--the enormous expence at which they purchased relicks;—the numerous penances to which they submitted;—so that we cannot but lament that they had not the plain truths of Christianity published among them by faithful men, whose minds were unwarped by the superstitious trumpery of Popish delusion, to have pointed them the way of salvation by faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

We have already noticed, that in the early part of King Ethelred's reign, the peace of the country was frequently interrupted by the devastations and cruelties inflicted by the barbarous Danes. Though Ethelred wore on his head the honours of a King, his heart was the heart of a coward, cruel and revengeful. He had married to his second wife, the beautiful Emma, sister

to Richard II. Duke of Normandy, of Danish extraction; and soon after, he ordered a general massacre of all the Danes who were settled in England, when the enraged English, excited to madness at the remembrance of the many injuries done them by the Danes, fell upon them on Sunday, Nov. 13th, A.D. 1002, and made no distinction between rank, age, or sex; the innocent or the guilty. Among other persons of rank who were murdered on this fatal day, was Gunilda, sister to Swein, King of Denmark, with her husband and children. Some young Danes found means to escape from the general slaughter of their countrymen in London, and carried the doleful tidings to their Sovereign in his own dominions; the recital of which, raised a tempest of rage in the breast of that ferocious Prince, who in the following spring landed a powerful army in the south-west of England, which spread desolation far and near. Exeter, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, and many other cities, towns and villages, were reduced to ashes, and the greatest part of their inhabitants buried in their ruins.

During the time that the Danes were committing such dreadful ravages as threatened the country with total ruin; a great council consisting of the principal Clergy

and Laity, was held at Ensham in Oxfordshire, A. D. 1009, to consult on the most effectual means of preserving themselves and country from the impending destruction with which they were threatened. At this council Alphage, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wolstan, Archbishop of York, gave it as their opinion, that the best means of averting the displeasure, and conciliating the favour of heaven would be, to compel all the Clergy to put away their wives, and for the laity to pay all their dues honestly and punctually to the church; to enforce which, several strict laws were made; but either these laws were not kept, or they failed in producing the desired effect, appears from the following tragical narration.

When the Danes were besieging Canterbury, Alphage the Archbishop, was urged by his friends to make his escape if he would not comply with the proposed terms, and thereby save his own life. "God forbid," said Alphage, "that I should tarnish my character by so inglorious a conduct; and should be afraid of going to heaven, because a violent death lies across in the passage. I have been the instrument of drawing over several considerable persons among the Danes to the gospel: if this be a fault, I shall be happy in suffering for it. I have

ransomed some of my countrymen, and supported others when in captivity. If Danes be angry because I have reproved their sins, it behoves me to remember him who hath said, 'If thou give not the wicked warning, his blood will I require at thine hand.' It is the character of an hireling to leave the sheep, when he seeth the wolf coming. I mean, therefore, to stand the shock, and submit to the order of Divine Providence."*

The Archbishop, influenced by these motives, remained in Canterbury, discharging to the people, the duties of a Christian pastor. At length the Danes took the city by assault, and committed the most horrid barbarities, particularly, out of revenge for the murder of Gunilda the King's sister; they let the weight of their fury fall on ladies of quality, whom they dragged to the stake and burnt to death, and their infants along with some of them. Alphage, moved at such inhuman scenes, boldly expostulated with them. "The cradle," says he, "can afford no triumphs for soldiers. It would be better for you to exercise your vengeance on me, whose death may give some celebrity to your names. Remember, some of your troops, have, through my means, been brought over to the faith of Christ, and I

* Osbern de vit. Alphegi. Extr. Milner Hist. Chur. vol. 3. p. 330.

have frequently rebuked you for your acts of injustice." The Danes were so exasperated at the faithful manner in which the Archbishop reproved them, that they seized him and kept him in prison several months. They, however, offered him his liberty on condition of immense payments, to be made by himself and by Ethelred the King. He told them that those sums were too large to be raised by any exactions, and he firmly refused to drain the treasures of the church, for the sake of saving his life; accounting it a sin to give to Pagans those sums, which had been devoted to the honour of religion, and to the relief of the poor. This refusal enraged the merciless Danes beyond measure. They threw the Archbishop down, and stoned him, while he prayed for his enemies, and for the church; and, at length, a certain Dane, lately become a Christian, dispatched him, as an act of kindness, in order to free him from his pain.

Out of the immense number upon whom the church of Rome has conferred the title of Saint; but few of them, have evinced so much of the true spirit of a saint and a martyr as Alphage, who chose rather to die a violent death, than sin against God and his church. He was murdered A. D. 1013, when the city was reduced to ashes, nine-

tenths of the inhabitants and almost all the Clergy, were butchered in the most barbarous manner.

It is painful to record the degrading effects of having the mind blinded and infatuated by superstition. To raise in the minds of the laity an undue reverence for the monks, the most flagitious stories of miracles were invented and progagated by the one, and as eagerly believed by the other. The following is copied from William of Malmsbury, who relates it, as he says, in the very words of one of the persons on whom it was wrought. "I Ethel-
"bert, a sinner, will give a true relation of
"what happened to me on the day before
"Christmas, A. D. 1012, in a certain vil-
"lage where there was a church dedicated
"to St. Magnus the martyr, that all men
"may know the danger of disobeying the
"commands of a Priest. Fifteen young
"women, and eighteen young men, of
"which I was one, were dancing and sing-
"ing in the church-yard, when one Robert,
"a Priest, was performing mass in the
"church; who sent us a civil message, in-
"treating us to desist from our diversion,
"because we disturbed his devotion by our
"noise. But we impiously disregarded his
"request; upon which the holy man, in-

" flamed with anger, prayed to God and
" St. Magnus, that we might continue danc-
" ing and singing a whole year without in-
" termission. His prayers were heard. A
" young man, the son of a Priest, named
" John, took his sister, who was singing
" with us, by the hand, and her arm drop-
" ped from her body without one drop of
" blood following. But notwithstanding
" this disaster, she continued to dance and
" sing with us a whole year. During all
" that time we felt no inconveniency from
" rain, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, or weari-
" ness, and neither our shoes nor our clothes
" wore out. Whenever it began to rain, a
" magnificent house was erected over us by
" the power of the Almighty. By our con-
" tinual dancing we wore the earth so much,
" that by degrees we sunk into it up to the
" knees, and at length up to the middle.—
" When the year was ended, Bishop Hu-
" bert came to the place, dissolved the in-
" visible ties by which our hands had been
" so long united, absolved us, and recon-
" ciled us to St. Magnus. The Priest's
" daughter, who had lost her arm. and
" other two of the young women died away
" immediately; but all the rest fell into a
" profound sleep, in which they continued
" three days and three nights; after which

"they went up and down the world pub-
"lishing this true and glorious miracle, and
"carrying the evidences of its truth along
"with them, in the continual shaking of
"their limbs."* A formal deed, relating the particulars, and attesting the truth of this ridiculous story, was drawn up and subscribed by Bishop Peregrine, the successor of Hubert, A. D. 1013; and we may be certain, that a fact so well attested was universally believed.

The distresses of the English by the extended conquests of the Danes were daily increasing. Ethelred left his kingdom to seek sanctuary in Normandy. Swein, King of Denmark, took the city of London, A.D. 1013, when it might be said that England was completely conquered. But Swein did not long survive this important conquest; for he died suddenly at Gainsborough, February 3rd, A. D. 1014, before he was crowned King of England. This event revived the dejected spirits of the English who resolved to attempt the delivery of their country from the Danish yoke. A deputation was sent into Normandy to invite King Ethelred to return and resume the reigns of government. The King complied and sent his son Prince Edward back with the depu-

* W. Malms. p. 38. c. 10. Extr. Henry.

tation, and having raised a numerous army, they came upon the Danes in the neighbourhood of Gainsborough, killed great numbers of them, and obliged the young King Canute, to retire to their ships and return to their own country.

Livingus, Bishop of Wells, succeeded Alphage in the see of Canterbury, A. D. 1013, and was deeply involved in the calamities of those unhappy times. Soon after the return of King Ethelred from Normandy, the Archbishop summoned a great council which was held at a place called *Habham*, A. D. 1014, At this council it was resolved to practice some extraordinary devotions, to prevail upon the saints and angels to fight against the Danes. St. Michael, the Archangel, had lately gained great reputation by a victory which the christians in Apulia had obtained by his means as they imagined, over the Pagans; and the English determined to persuade this celestial warrior, if possible, to do them the like favour. With this view, it was decreed at this council, that every person who was of age should fast three days on bread, water, and raw herbs, before the feast of St. Michael, should confess and go to church barefoot; and that every Priest, with his whole congregation, should go these three

days in solemn procession barefoot. The monks and nuns in all their convents were commanded to celebrate the mass *contra Paganos* (against the Pagans) every canonical hour, lying prostrate on the ground, and in that posture to sing the psalm—"Lord, how are they increased that trouble me, &c."* Such was the infatuated state of the English at that time, that they seem to have reposed their chief hopes of preservation in these and such like observations; so entirely were their minds blinded by superstition. Their affairs, however, became daily more and more desperate; and about three years after this council was held, they were entirely subdued by the Danes.

King Ethelred closed his unhappy reign April 23rd, 1016, leaving his family and kingdom in the most distressing circumstances. He was succeeded by his eldest son Edmund, who for his hardiness in war, had obtained the name of *Iron-sides*. He was crowned at London, by Livingus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a very few of the English Nobility and Clergy, amidst the acclamations of the loyal Londoners; but the far greatest part of the English, both Nobility and Clergy attended Canute at Southampton, where they swore allegiance

* Johnson's Canons, A.D. 1014. Spel. Concil, t. 1. p. 530, ibid.

to him as their King, and abjured all the posterity of Ethelred. Both these Princes prepared to contend for the crown of England with such valour, as shewed that neither of them was unworthy of the prize.—Five pitched battles were fought with equal valour and great profusion of blood; but when they were just on the point of fighting a sixth battle, on the motion of a certain Captain, Edmund and Canute undertook to decide the contest by single combat. The scene of this combat, is said, to have been a small island in the Severn called Alney, near to Gloucester. There they valiantly fought till Canute finding that Edmund was an over-match for him in strength, proposed an accommodation; that they should divide the kingdom betwixt them, and enter into a league of amity jointly to assist each other's necessity. After a short negociation it was agreed, that Canute should have the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria, which were chiefly inhabited by Danes, and Edmund have all the rest of England. The brave Edmund did not long survive this agreement; the traitor Edric Streon, Duke of Mercia, who married the late Ethelred's sister, caused Edmund to be basely murdered, and then cutting off his head, he presented it to Canute, saying, "All hail

"thou sole Monarch of England, for be-
"hold here the head of thy copartner, which
"for thy sake I have adventured to cut off."*
To whom Canute replied, "As a reward for that service, the bringer's own head shall be advanced above all the Peers of his kingdom." Not long after Canute verified his promise, when the traitor met with his merited reward, by having his head cut off, and placed over the highest gate in London. After the death of Edmund, the English made no further opposition, but quietly submitted to the government of Canute, who was acknowledged King of England by all the great men both Clergy and laity, in a general assembly held in London, A.D. 1017.

Though the generality of the Danes were at this time Pagans, yet when Canute had got seated on the English throne, he became a most zealous Christian, according to the mode of the age in which he lived. He repaired the monasteries which the Danes had destroyed in the late wars,—granted many immunities to the convents and Clergy,—built and endowed several new churches,—and in A. D. 1031, he visited Rome in person. He convened a council of the Peers and principal Clergy to meet at Oxford, when a number of laws were made

* Dr. Howell's Hist. Angli-canæ, p. 44.

both civil and religious. Among the rest are these,—'That all decent ceremonies, 'tending to the increase of reverence and 'devotion in the service of God, should be 'used as need required.—That the Lord's 'day should be kept holy.—That a Clergy-'man for killing a Layman, or for any other 'notorious crime, should be deprived both 'of his order and dignity.' The churches are ranged into four classes, and the mulct for violating their protection proportioned to their dignity; namely, for violating the protection of a cathedral, five pounds; of a middling church, one hundred and twenty shillings; of a lesser church that hath a burying-place, sixty shillings; of a country church without a burying-place, thirty shillings. In one of the canons celibacy is recommended to the Clergy, and particularly enjoined to those in Priest's orders; and for their encouragement it is declared, that an unmarried Priest shall be esteemed equal in dignity to a Thane. Another prohibits marriage within the sixth degree of kindred. The payment of all dues to the Clergy, such as, tithes of corn and cattle, Rome-scot, church-scot, plough-alms, light-scot, and soul-scot, are secured to them by various penalties. There are others of a civil nature: "That a married woman on being

convicted of adultery, should have her nose and ears cut off,—that a widow marrying within the space of twelve months after the death of her husband, should lose her jointure." But the most remarkable one is, that against heathenism,—"We strictly prohibit all Heathenism, i. e. the worship of idols or heathen gods, the sun, moon, fire, rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees of any kind; the practice of witchcraft, or committing murder by magic, or firebrands, or any other infernal tricks."* These canons are closed with the following admonition :—"We admonish diligently all Christian men, that "they do always love God with an inward "heart, and be diligently obedient to divine "teachers, and do subtilly search God's "learning and laws, often and daily to the "profit of themselves. And we warn that "all Christian men do learn to know, at the "leastwise, the right *Belief*, and aright to "understand, and learn the *Pater-noster*, "and the *Creed*. For that with the one, "every Christian man shall pray unto God, "and with the other shew forth right belief."

A Prince in such prosperity as Canute now was, could not expect his court to be free from parasites, and some of these carried their adulation so far, as to declare in his pre-

* Johnson's Canons, A. D. 1017. Hist. Angli. p. 45.

sence, that nothing in nature dared to disobey his commands. To confound these sycophants, being then at Southampton, he one day ordered his chair to be placed upon the beach when the tide was coming in, and sitting down in it in the presence of many attendants, with an air of majestic authority, he thus addressed the swelling waves: "Thou sea art part of my dominion, do not therefore on pain of my displeasure, presume so much as to wet the robes of thy Lord." But the swelling billows, regardless of his commands, advanced with their usual rapidity, and obliged his Majesty to retire, when turning to his flatterers he said, "Learn from this example, that the power "of an earthly King is but weak and vain, "and that none is worthy the name of King, "but HE that keepeth Heaven, Earth, and "Sea, in obedience to his own will." After which time, says Dr. Howell, he would never wear his crown, but placed it on the image of Christ on the cross, at Winchester, which, at his death, became a prize to the churchmen.

Though Canute was a wise and great Prince, yet he imbibed the spirit of that degrading superstition, which reigned in that age of darkness in which he lived. Few who had the means of supporting the expence,

would run the risk of getting to heaven without having taken a journey to Rome out of compliment to St. Peter, who kept the keys of the celestial regions. Influenced by this motive, Canute went on pilgrimage to Rome, A. D. 1031, attended by a numerous and splendid train of nobility and their attendants. Canute became an object of general admiration at Rome, as he lavished larger sums of money upon the churches and Clergy in that city, than any Prince had ever before done. In return for his pious and princely liberality, he obtained some additional privileges to the English college at Rome,—a small abatement made in the price paid by the English Archbishops for their palls,—but what he valued more than all the rest was, a plenary pardon of all his sins, and the special friendship of St. Peter.* The sale of relicks rose in demand and price in proportion to the number of pilgrims which at this period, so crowded the roads between England and Rome, that the tolls which they paid, were objects of importance to the Princes through whose territories they had to pass. Very few out of the thousands that went on pilgrimage to Rome, ever returned without a relick, the stores of which, in Rome, were inexhaustible. Kings,

* Hen. Hunt. l. 6. W. Malms. l. 2, c. 11. vide Henry, vol. 3, p. 132.

Princes, and wealthy Prelates, purchased pieces of the cross, or whole legs or arms of Apostles; while others of more contracted means, had to content themselves with the toes and fingers of inferior Saints. Agelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he was at Rome, A. D. 1021, purchased of the Pope, an arm of St. Augustine Bishop of Hippo, for one hundred talents, or six thousand pound weight of silver, and one talent, or sixty pound weight of gold.* A prodigious sum! from which we may form some idea of the unconscionable knavery of the sellers, and the astonishing folly and superstition of the purchasers of such commodities. The building, endowing, and adorning of monasteries, had been carried on with such mad profusion for about one hundred and fifty years, that a great part of the wealth of England had been expended on these structures, or lay burried in their ornaments and utensils. "The masses of gold," says William of Malmsbury, "which Queen Emma, with a holy prodigality, bestowed upon the monasteries of Winchester, astonished the minds of strangers, while the splendour of the precious stores dazzled their eyes. In this period the numbers, both of the secular and regular Clergy, in-

* Id. ibid.

creased very much, and their possessions still more. By the frequent and extravagant grants of land bestowed on cathedrals, monasteries, and other churches, from the beginning of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century, we have good reason to believe, that at the death of Edward the Confessor, more than one third of all the lands of England were in possession of the Clergy, exempted from all taxes, and for the most part even from military services. When we reflect on these circumstances we cannot be very much surprised, that the people of England in this period, were so cruelly insulted by the Danes, and at the end of it so easily conquered by the Normans.*

* Henry vol. 3. p. 397.

CHAPTER IX.

Landing of William of Normandy.—Battle of Hastings.—Death of Harold and Coronation of William.—His conduct towards the English Clergy.—The two Archbishops dispute about the primacy.—Several councils, and some tyrannical proceedings.----Case of Wolstan Bishop of Worcester.—Conduct of Pope Gregory VII.—The doctrine of transubstantiation.—On church music.—Establishment of ecclesiastical courts.—Death of the Conqueror.—Death of Lanfranc, who is succeeded by Anselm.—Severe contentions between Anselm and King William II.—Death of King William.

William Duke of Normandy, invaded England with a powerful army which he landed at Pevensey in Sussex, September 28th, A. D. 1066. King Harold was with his army at York at the time, celebrating the victory he had obtained over his brother Tosti and the King of Norway, when he received the news of this formidable invasion. Harold put an end to his rejoicings immediately, and began his march towards London; and on October 13, he pitched his camp near that of the Normans before Hastings. On his arrival William sent a monk as a mediator for peace, with the following

proposals. First, that Harold should resign the kingdom to him;—or, as he said, to save the effusion of Christian blood, they should decide the quarrel by single combat;—or, the case should be referred to the Pope, whose decision should be decisive. To this message Harold replied, that next day it should be decided by more swords than one. The cause did not hang long in a state of suspense, for early on the following morning, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle under their respective commanders; the one bent upon winning a crown, and the other equally determined not to part with it but with his life. The battle was fought with equal bravery on both sides; the Duke had three horses killed under him in the course of the day, and neither side could claim much advantage until about sunset, when a fatal arrow entered the eye of King Harold and laid him dead on the spot; his two brothers were also slain, and the royal standard taken; upon which the English fled on all sides and were pursued with great slaughter. Thus ended the famous battle of Hastings, which was the most important ever fought in this island.

After the battle was over, the Duke returned solemn thanks to God on the field, for the success of his arms. He

allowed the English liberty to bury their dead,—he disgraced one of his soldiers for mangling the body of Harold, and sent the corps of that Prince to his mother Githa, without accepting the proffered ransom.

The conqueror marched towards London, and set fire to Southwark, which was reduced to ashes. The citizens perceiving that no effectual resistance could be made, resolved to surrender the city; when Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, Aldred Archbishop of York, and two other Bishops, five of the principle citizens of London, several noblemen, and Edgar Etheling, the undoubted heir of the Saxon line to the throne, went to make their submissions to William at Berkhamstead. The example of so many illustrious persons was soon followed by almost all the nobility of England, who joined with them in offering William the vacant throne; which, after some courtly excuses, and at the earnest entreaty of his Norman counsellors, he accepted, and was crowned King of England at Westminster Abbey, by Alfred Archbishop of York, December 25, A. D. 1066.*

No sooner had William got seated in the throne of England, than he formed the design of depriving the most eminent of the

* W. Pictavin. p. 205-6. T. Stubbs, c. 1702. vide Henry. v. 5. p. 9.

Clergy of their dignities in the church, in order to bestow them on his countrymen. To assist him in the accomplishment of his object, he got the Pope to send legates into England, for regulating the affairs of the church, which he pretended were in great disorder. In compliance with his views, the Pope sent John and Peter, two cardinal Priests, and on their arrival a great council was held of the English Clergy in the presence of the King, at Winchester, on the octaves of Easter, A. D. 1070. At this council Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, Agilmare Bishop of Norwich, and several English Abbots, were deposed on various pretences. Another council was held at Windsor on Whitsunday the same year, when Agilric Bishop of Chichester, and some more English Abbots, were deposed. The Bishops of Lincoln and Durham were so alarmed at such violent proceedings, that they left their sees and retired into Scotland. By these depositions and resignations, as well as by the death of several English Prelates, many of the chief dignities of the church were now vacant, which were all filled with the King's foreign favourites and countrymen. Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, Canon of Bayeux, was made Archbishop of York; and

the following sees were all filled with foreigners, Walkelin to Winchester, Walcherine to Durham, Herefact to Norwich, Stigand to Chichester, Peter to Lichfield, Hermand to Salisbury, and Remignius to Lincoln.*

Soon after their election, a violent quarrel broke out between the two Archbishops about the primacy. When Thomas elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated, Lanfranc, on the day appointed for that ceremony, demanded of him an oath and written profession of canonical obedience to himself and successors, as primates of all England; which the other absolutely refusing, departed in great anger without being consecrated. But Lanfranc, having got the King and his council to favour his views, Thomas was commanded to return, and take the oath and make a profession of obedience for himself, without mentioning his successors. With this command he thought proper to comply.

This year A. D. 1071, the two new Archbishops made a journey to Rome to receive their palls; when Thomas complained of the submission he had been constrained to make at his consecration; affirming, that the sees of York and Canterbury were of equal dignity. On the other hand, Lanfranc pro-

* Innet's Church Hist. vol. 2. p. 14-5. ibid.

duced various evidences of the superiority of his see. But the Pope unwilling to offend either of the contending Prelates, or to disoblige the King of England, declined to judge in the case, and declared that it ought to be determined by an English synod. Accordingly two great councils were held, one at Easter, and the other at Whitsuntide, A. D. 1072, in which this important question of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the presence of the King, Queen, and all the court, and at length terminated in favour of Canterbury, to the no small mortification of the clerical pride of the one Prelate, and exultation of the other.*

The primacy being settled in favour of Lanfranc, he presided in several councils of the Clergy of both provinces, in which many ecclesiastical canons were made, some of which were very oppressive to the English. By one of them very severe penances were prescribed to those who had killed or wounded any person in the battle of Hastings, whether they had fought for or against the Duke. The archers who could not know how many men they had killed or wounded, were to do penance for three Lents. All these penances might be re-

* Malmsb. p 117. Extr. Heury.

deemed by money, or by building and endowing churches; to promote which was probably the intention of the council in these tyrannical impositions. By the eighth canon of another council held about the same time, it was decreed, "That the bones of dead animals shall not be hung up, to drive away the pestilence from cattle; and that sorcery, sooth-sayings, divinations, and such works of the devil, shall not be practised."*

William found the enmity of the monks and Clergy so inveterate against his measures, and their opposition so determined, that he made an ordinance for excluding the native monks and Priests from all dignities in the church. In order to carry the King's ordinance into full operation, Lanfranc convened a synod to be held in Westminster Abbey, A. D. 1075, and summoned Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, to appear, when he called upon him to deliver up his pastoral staff.

The ostensible ground for this proceeding was, his insufficiency in learning, not being acquainted with the French tongue.†

* Johnson's Eccl. Can. vol. 2. A. D. 1072, 1076.

† William the Conqueror, says Ingulphus, had so great an abhorrence of the English language, that he commanded all the laws and law-proceedings to be in French; and even the children at school were taught the first elements of grammar and letters in French and not in English. All Englishmen therefore who wished to appear at court, or to be fit for any office, were under the necessity of acquiring the French language.

Whatever Wolstan's learning might be, it is evident that he had, in a great degree, escaped the contagion of those dissolute times. His habits were simple, his life exemplary, his character decided; and on this urgent occasion he was not wanting to himself. When the Primate called upon him to deliver up his pastoral staff, the good old Bishop rose up, and holding the crosier with a firm grasp, replied, "I know my Lord Archbishop, that of a truth I am not worthy of this dignity, nor sufficient for its duties. I knew it when the Clergy elected, when the Prelates compelled, when my master summoned me to the office. He, by authority of the apostolic see, laid this burden upon my shoulders, and with this staff ordered me to be invested with the episcopal degree. You now require from me the pastoral staff which you did not deliver, and take from me the office which you did not confer: and I, who am not ignorant of my own insufficiency, obeying the decree of this holy synod, resign them, not to you, but to him by whose authority I received them!" So saying, he advanced to the tomb of King Edward the Confessor, and addressing himself to the dead; "Master," said he, "thou knowest how unwillingly I took upon myself this charge, forced to it

by thee! for although neither the choice of the brethren, nor the desire of the people, nor the consent of the prelates, nor the favour of the nobles, was wanting; thy pleasure predominated more than all, and especially compelled me. Behold a new King, a new law, a new Primate! they decree new rights and promulgate new statutes. Thee they accuse of error in having so commanded; me of presumption in having obeyed. Then indeed thou wert liable to error, being mortal; but now, being with God, thou canst not err! Not therefore to these, who require what they did not give, and who, as men, may deceive and be deceived, but to thee who hast given, and art beyond the reach of error or ignorance, I render up my staff! to thee I resign the care of those whom thou hast committed to my charge!" He then laid his crosier upon the tomb, and as a monk, he took his seat among the monks. The solemnity of such an appeal, from a venerable old man, might well induce the synod to desist from its injurious purpose; but it is affirmed, that where he deposited the crosier there it remained, fast imbedded in the stone, and that, in deference of this miraculous manifestation, he was permitted to retain his see.*

* Book of the Church, vol. I, p. 124.

The celibacy of the Clergy had been enjoined by numerous canons; but so difficult is it for the laws of men to overcome the laws of nature, that hitherto they had failed to produce the intended effect. At an English council held at Winchester, A. D. 1076, it was enacted, that the secular Clergy who had wives should be allowed to keep them; which is a sufficient proof that at this period they formed a very powerful party; but those who had not wives are forbidden to marry; and Bishops are prohibited for the future to ordain any man who had a wife.*

On the death of Pope Alexander II, A.D. 1073, the noted Hildebrand, Archdeacon of Rome was raised to the Pontificate, by the assumed name of Gregory VII, a man of the most aspiring and unbounded ambition of any that ever filled St. Peter's chair. His pride gave birth to many innovations in the church. The cardinals, who were originally parish Priests in Rome, had now the red hat given them as an ensign of their dignity. To the red hat was added the title of Prince, and as they compose the Pope's council, they may be considered as the most remarkable body of ecclesiastical politicians in the world. He divided the cardinals into three classes; the first, consisting of six, are called Car-

* Spelman's Con. I, 2. p. 13.

dinal Bishops; the second, being fifty in number, are called Cardinal Priests; and the third, being only fourteen, are called Cardinal Deacons, making in the whole seventy, which constitute what is called the sacred college.

The Pope compelled all the Bishops to swear allegiance to him; and to bring all Emperors, Kings and Princes under subjection to his authority, he issued a decree forbidding the civil power to proceed against any one, under any charge whatever, who appealed to the Pope. In the prosecution of his claim to an absolute power over all Princes, he sent his legate Hubert into England, to assert his title to that kingdom, and demand an oath of fealty from King William, together with the immediate payment of all the arrears of Peter-pence, which he affected to call a tribute. These demands were rejected by William with becoming indignation, but he promised to send Peter-pence as a free gift, in imitation of his predecessors. The Pope felt not a little mortified at the manner in which William refused the demands he had made by his nuncio, and wrote to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding him to proceed to Rome immediately; but the King issued his mandate forbidding the Primate to leave the kingdom

without his permission. These affronts wrought up the rage of the holy Pontiff to so high a pitch, that in a letter to his legate Hubert, A. D. 1078, he gave William the most opprobrious names, and declared he would make him feel the resentment of St. Peter. But either St. Peter was less vindictive than his successor, or he feared the Conqueror would be above his match; for the threatened resentment never reached him.

That popular doctrine of the church of Rome, concerning the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, called *transubstantiation*, was scarcely known in this country before the Norman conquest. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the most zealous champion for that doctrine of any man in his age. He wrote, disputed, and preached in its defence, both before and after his elevation to the primacy. It is probable that his elevation gave additional weight to his arguments, and multiplied the number of prosolites. This doctrine was strongly opposed by the famous Berenger, Archbishop of Angers, who was brought before two different councils at Rome to answer for his doctrines. Lanfranc was one of his principal opponents, and at one of these councils, being rather compelled than convinced, he signed the following absurd con-

fession, That "the bread laid upon the altar became, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right hand of the Father: and that the wine placed upon the altar became, after consecration, the true blood, which flowed from the side of Christ." Berenger not ceasing to publish his former opinions, was cited to appear at another council held at Rome, A.D. 1079, when another confession of faith was presented for him to subscribe, which was expressed thus: "That the bread and wine were, by mysterious influence of the holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ." To the above was added, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ, not only in quality of external signs, and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality." This ridiculous doctrine, the belief of which is the most violent outrage of common sense, reason, and revelation; the rejection of which has cost the lives of tens of thousands of the best and most valuable men the world had in it, as we shall

have occasion to notice more particularly before we close these Sketches.

Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop of York, was advanced to that see by William the Conqueror, A. D. 1070. He was one of the most pious and learned Prelates of the age in which he lived. He had a remarkable fine voice, and a great taste for music, in the study of which he made great proficiency, both in theory and practice. He composed many pieces of music for the use of his cathedral, in a grave, solemn, manly style, avoiding all light effeminate airs, as unsuitable to the nature of religious worship. When he heard any of the secular minstrels sing a tune which pleased him, he adopted and formed it for the use of the church, by some necessary variations. His historian, Stubbs says, "There was nothing which Archbishop Thomas studied so much as to have a good and virtuous Clergy in his cathedral. With them he sometimes sung, or played upon the organ; he even spent some of his leisure hours in making organs, and in teaching his Clergy to make them, and to set hymns both in prose and verse to music."

The grave and solemn style of singing did not continue in general use long after his day, for John of Salisbury complains loudly

of the effeminate and artificial church music of his time. "This soft effeminate kind of music" (says he) "hath even debased the dignity, and stained the purity of religious worship. For in the very presence of God, and in the centre of his sanctuary, the singers endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain wanton luxuriancy of voice. When you hear the soft and sweet modulations of the choristers; some leading, others following; some singing high, others low; some falling in, others replying; you imagine you hear a concert of sirens, and not men; and admire the wonderful flexibility of their voices, which cannot be equalled by the nightingale, the parrot, or any other creature, if there be any other more musical. Such is their facility in rising and falling, in quavering, shaking, and trilling, in blending and tempering all the different kinds of sounds, that the ear loses its capacity of distinguishing, and the mind, overpowered with so much sweetness, cannot judge of the merit of what it hears. When they have thus far departed from the bounds of moderation, they are more apt to excite unhallowed passions than devout affections in the hearts of men." Whatever objections there might

be to the introduction of such music into the church, yet, if the description of it be correct, it speaks much both on behalf of the skill of the composers, and the ability of the performers.

One of the most important changes in the church of England during the reign of the Conqueror, was that of separating the ecclesiastical from civil courts; and thereby preventing the Bishops from sitting as judges in the county-courts;—the Clergy from attending as suitors, and the causes of the church from being tried in them, but in courts of their own. By this regulation, which was made in a common council of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and chief men of the kingdom, A. D. 1085, the county-courts were deprived at one blow, of their most venerable judges, their most respectable suitors, and most important business.—Besides this, after the departure of the Bishops and Clergy, the Earls disdained to sit as judges, and the great Barons to attend as suitors in the county courts, which by degrees, reduced them to their present state. But this was not the worst effect of this imprudent regulation. By it the kingdom was split asunder; the crown and mitre were set at variance, and the ecclesiastical courts, by putting themselves under the immediate

protection of the Pope, formed the Clergy into a separate state under a foreign Sovereign, which was productive of the most fatal consequences to the peace of the nation.*

The ecclesiastical courts, that were immediately erected in consequence of this fatal statute, were these three: 1. The Archdeacon's court. For as the Archdeacon was by that statute discharged from sitting as a judge in the hundred court, he was authorised to erect a court of his own, in which he took cognizance of ecclesiastical causes within his Archdeaconry. 2. The Bishop's court or consistory, which received appeals from the Archdeacon's court, and whose jurisdiction extended over the whole diocess. 3. The Archbishop's court, which received appeals from the consistories of the several Bishops of the Province, and had jurisdiction not only over the particular diocess of the Archbishop but over all the dioceses in the Province. From this highest ecclesiastical court, appeals lay to the Pope, which soon became very frequent, vexatious, and expensive.†

The Conqueror exercised his supremacy over the church of England with a high hand, and made some important changes

* Blackstone's Comment. 6. 3. c. 5. † Ibid. extr. Henry, v. 6, p. 25.

both in the state of its revenues and of its polity. Finding the English Clergy and monasteries possessed of far too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom, he stript them of many of their estates, and subjected those they retained to military services and other feudal prestations; a reasonable regulation, that those who enjoyed so large a share of the wealth, should contribute in the same proportion with others to the defence and support of the state. He was extremely strict with the Clergy in the exercise of discipline, and government of the church, and would not allow any of them to go out of the kingdom without his consent,—to acknowledge any Pope without his direction; or to publish any letters from Rome till he had seen and approved of them, —not to hold any councils, or make any canons without his consent,—or pronounce a sentence of excommunication on any of his nobles without his permission.*

In the early part of the year A. D. 1087, William was confined to his bed by sickness, and being very corpulant, Philip, King of France passed a pun upon him by saying, He "hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his great belly, and be able to come abroad." This witticism gave

* Seldeni Specilegium, p. 167. Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 279.

rise to a war with France; for being reported to William, it put him into such a violent passion, that he swore "by the brightness and resurrection of God, (his usual oath,) that as soon as he came abroad he would light up a thousand fires in France for the joy of his recovery." William did not forget his threat; for in the last week of July, he entered France at the head of a powerful army, setting fire to the ripe corn and fruits, and destroying every thing as they advanced; and having taken the town of Maute, he commanded it to be set on fire and reduced to ashes. But here a check was given to his destructive career. For being overheated with the warmth of the weather and flames of the town, and having received a bruise in his belly by the pummel of his saddle, he was seized with a slow fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Gervais, near Rouen, Sept. 9th, A.D. 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-first year of his reign over England. Thus closed the life of William the Conqueror, who was one of the greatest generals, and profound politicians, but one of the most tyrannical and cruel Kings that ever sat on the throne of England. Such were his tyrannical proceedings towards his English subjects, that at his death he did not leave so much as one

Englishman who was either Earl, Baron, Bishop, or Abbot. "None of his Bishops, Abbots, or great men," (says Eadmerus,) "dared to disobey his will on any consideration; but all divine and human depended upon his nod." "Whosoever desired to enjoy money, lands, or even life itself," (says Henry of Huntingdon,) "was under a necessity of obeying the King's nod in all things. Alas! how much is it to be lamented, that any man, who is but a worm and dust, should forget death, and arrive at such a height of pride as to trample on all the rest of mankind!"

He was succeeded in the throne of England by his second son William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair. He was present with his father on his death-bed, and having received his nomination to the crown of England, with a letter of recommendation to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury; instead of staying to pay the last duties to his expiring parent, he hastened over the sea to take possession of the crown. He was crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc, assisted by the Archbishop of York, eight other Bishops, and many of the nobility.

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, died May 28, A. D. 1089, having survived his

royal patron, William the Conqueror, about twenty months. This Prelate has been highly celebrated by our ancient historians for his wisdom, learning, munificence, and other virtues. His charity in particular is said to have been so great, that he devoted to charitable purposes, a sum not less than five hundred pounds a year; equal in weight to one thousand five hundred pounds of our money, and in value to not less than seven thousand five hundred pounds. Whilst we offer the meed of praise due to the Primate for his Princely charity, we must conclude, that the immense revenues of the see of Canterbury, presented a strong temptation to an arbitrary, avaricious Prince, for holding such a rich benifice in his own hands, and may account for what follows.

After the death of Lanfranc, William Rufus, (King William II.) kept all the possessions of the Bishopric in his own hands for near five years. During this interval, the Bishops and Clergy tried various means to prevail upon the King to appoint a Primate, but all to no effect. At one time, they presented a petition to him, for leave to send a form of prayer to be used in all the churches of England,—"That God would move the heart of the King to choose an Archbishop; to which he returned this an-

swer,—"You may pray as you please; but I will do as I please."* Whether it was in answer to the prayers of the church or not, we shall not take upon ourselves to say, (we believe the fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much,) but he was seized with a severe affliction in which his life was despaired of, when the powerful pleading of an alarmed guilty conscience, prevailed upon him to fill up the vacant sees of Lincoln and Canterbury. He nominated Robert Bloet his Chancellor, to the see of Lincoln, and Anselm, Abbot of Beck in Normandy, to the see of Canterbury. Anselm, who was then at the court of William, expressed great reluctance at first, to accept of this high dignity, dreading the fierce rapacious temper of the King, to which he was no stranger. To those who urged him to accept it, he said, "The plough of the church "of England should be drawn by two oxen "of equal strength, the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury; but if you yoke "me, who am an old sheep, with this King, "who is a mad young bull, the plough will "not go straight."† The sincerity of Anselm's opposition to the primacy is strongly suspected, but at last, he allowed them to force him into the chamber of the sick

* W. Malms. p. 124. col. 1. † Id. ibid. Extr. Henry. vol. 5. p. 280.

Monarch, who, very pathetically asked, "Why he endeavoured to ruin him in the next world, which would infallibly follow, in case he died before the Archbishopric was filled up?" The Abbot still persisted in his refusal, kneeling, weeping, and entreating the King to change his purpose. At length, the pastoral staff was forced into his hand, and he suffered himself to be invested with his office; but not until he had obtained a promise from the King, that all the lands should be restored to the see, which belonged to it in the time of Lanfranc. Having secured the temporalities, Anselm condescended to mount the archiepiscopal throne, and was consecrated, December 4th, A. D. 1093.

Anselm's apprehensions of having quarrels with the King were but too well founded, though he himself was principally to blame. Soon after the King's recovery from his affliction, he formed the design of wresting the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert. To enable him to carry his plans into execution, he endeavoured to raise a sufficient sum of money for the purpose; when Anselm offered the King a voluntary gift of five hundred pounds, which he thought too small and refused to accept it. "I entreat your highness," said Anselm,

"to accept the present; it will be more honourable in you to receive a less sum with my consent than to extort a greater by force. If your highness allow me the freedom and privilege of my station, my person and fortune shall be at your service; but if I am treated like a slave, I shall be obliged to stand aloof, and keep my fortune to myself."

The offer was, however, for the present rejected; and when it was afterwards hinted to Anselm, that a repetition of it might conciliate the royal favour, he answered, "God forbid that I should suppose my Sovereign's favour may be purchased with a small sum of money, like a horse at a fair! Persuade the King not to set a price on his favour, but to treat me on honourable terms, as his spiritual father, and I am ready to pay him the duty of a subject. As for the five hundred pounds, which he was pleased to refuse, they are given to the poor." When the King was informed of what had passed, he was much displeased, and declared he would "never acknowledge Anselm for his ghostly father; —he wanted neither his prayers nor his benedictions, and he might go whither he pleased."

Anselm sunk himself several degrees lower in the King's favour by his conduct at a visit he paid to the court at Hastings. He first

became almost clamorous with the King to call a council of the Clergy to fill up the vacant abbeys; a request to which the King was not disposed to attend;—he next reproved the King and his courtiers in a very severe style, for their long hair,—their gaudy dress,—and their effeminate manners, which the King very highly resented.* At another time, when William required from the Archbishop his quota of men for an expedition against Wales, he sent them out so wretchedly equipped, that he threatened him with a prosecution. Anselm, on his part considered the King's demand oppressive and treated his complaint with silent contempt.

At an interview Anselm had with the King after his return from Normandy, A.D. 1094, the breach between them was made much wider. The Christian world had long been divided between the two contending Popes, Urban and Clement, but the kingdom of England had not as yet acknowledged either the one or the other. Anselm had submitted to Urban before his promotion to the Primacy, and petitioned the King for leave to go to Rome and receive his pall from that Pontiff. William was enraged beyond measure at this petition, which he declared was directly contrary to that

* Eadmer, p. 23, 24.

obedience which the Archbishop had sworn in his oath of fealty, as well as to the laws of England. At length, after much angry altercation, this dispute was referred to a great council of the nobility and Prelates, which met at Rockingham, March 11th, A. D. 1095.* To this council, Anselm made a long harangue, in which, amongst other things, the good Prelate told them, "That "he would much rather have been burnt "alive than have been made an Archbishop;" and concluded with proposing this question as the subject of their deliberation :— "Whether his going to receive his pall from "Pope Urban, was contrary to his oath of "fealty, and the laws of England?" The council then adjourned, because it was Sunday, and having met again on Monday, after long deliberation, sent this answer to the Archbishop by the Bishops, "that unless he yielded obedience to the King, and retracted his submission to Pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or obey him as their Primate." On hearing this sentence, the Archbishop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with great solemnity appealed to St. Peter, whose vicar he declared he was determined to obey, rather than the King; and upon the Bishops declining to

* Ibid, p. 26. Extr. Henry.

report his words, he went boldly into the council, and pronounced them before the King and his nobility. The debates were then renewed with greater warmth than ever, and continued all day; at the close of which the former sentence was confirmed and communicated to the Primate, who begged to be allowed till next morning to deliberate upon his answer. The King and council were now in hopes that the Archbishop would resign his see, which was what they most ardently desired, as the only means of restoring peace to the kingdom, which had been much disturbed by this unhappy dispute. But whatever objection Anselm had to accept the Archbishopric, he shewed a much greater aversion to resign it. For next morning he both adhered to his former answer, and declared his resolution never to resign his see. When matters were brought to this extremity, some of the nobility, who respected the sacredotal character, and dreading that the passionate spirit of William would prompt him to some act of violence, proposed a truce till the octaves of Easter; which was accepted by both parties.*

During this interval, William, despairing to overcome the obstinacy of the Archbishop by violence, had recourse to artifice, and

* Eadmer, p. 31.

privately sent two of his Chaplains to Rome, to make an offer to Urban, to acknowledge him as Pope if he would consent to the deposition of Anselm, and send a pall to the King, to be bestowed on whom he pleased. But the King with all his art found the Pope more artful than himself. Urban received the deputation from William with a transport of joy, at the idea of gaining so powerful a Prince, and so great a nation to his party;—he promised every thing that the King asked, and sent Walter, Bishop of Alba, his legate into England with a pall. The legate passed through Canterbury, without seeing the Archbishop; and on his arrival at court, prevailed upon the King to issue a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful Pope. The King, not suspecting any artifice on the part of the Pope, faithfully performed all he had promised, and applied to the legate to proceed with the deposition of the Archbishop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the Prelate who should be chosen in his stead; but to his astonishment, the legate told him plainly that the Pope would not consent to the deposition of so great a saint, and so dutiful a son of the church of Rome; and that his orders were, to deliver the pall to Anselm;

which he accordingly performed with great pomp in the cathedral of Canterbury,* A.D. 1096.

We may easily imagine how the mind of a King of William's haughty and passionate temper, would be enraged at such perfidious conduct in the *professed vicor of Christ;* but political motives prevented him giving vent to his resentment. The King did not forget the advantage which had been taken of him by the chicanery of the court of Rome, which led to an open quarrel between him and the Archbishop, when he applied for the King's permission to visit Rome, for the good of his soul and the benefit of the church. After the King had repeatedly refused to grant him permission to go to Rome, he made another application at the great council of the nation, held in October, A.D. 1097; when the King under very excited feelings, commanded him to leave the kingdom in eleven days, without taking any of his effects with him; intimating at the same time, that he should never be permitted to return. Anselm had no sooner extorted this passionate permission to leave the kingdom, than he hastened to Canterbury, where he divested himself of his archiepiscopal robes, and having assumed the garb of a

* W. Malms. de Gest. Pontific. p. 126, col. 1.

pilgrim, he set out on his journey. He had to wait at Dover fifteen days for a favourable wind, where his luggage underwent the strictest search by the King's officers, but was permitted to pass.

From Lyons he wrote to the Pope, giving him an account of his grievances in England, and of his departure from it, and desiring the assistance and direction of his holiness; hinting, that since he had little prospect of doing any good in a country where justice and religion were so much despised by persons of all ranks, it would be right to allow him to resign his see. As soon as Anselm had left the kingdom, the King confiscated all the temporalities of the Archbishopric, and declared all the acts of Anselm to be null and void.*

As soon as the Archbishop received an answer to his letter with the Pope's invitation to come to Rome, he set forward on his journey attended only by two faithful friends, Baldwin his steward, and Eadmer the historian, his secretary. They were obliged to travel in disguise, and under borrowed names, to avoid the ambuscades that were laid by Clement the Antipope, and by several companies of banditti, who, having heard that the Archbishop of Canterbury was on his

* Eadmer, p. 37—41.

way to Rome with great treasures, were on the watch to intercept him.

After undergoing much fatigue, and being exposed to no little danger, they arrived at Rome where Anselm was received with every mark of respect, as a defender of the rights of the holy see, and a meritorious sufferer in the cause of religion; as a reward for which, the Pope appointed them to lodge in his own palace. He accompanied the Pope to his country seat near Capua, where all the sycophants which composed that corrupt court, paid Anselm the most adulatory honours. His holiness made a long speech to him before his whole court, in which he loaded him with praises, calling him the Pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome to kiss his toe.* He further promised to support him with all his power in his disputes with the King of England; and sent a letter to King William, demanding him to reinstate Anselm in all the emoluments and privileges of his see.

Anselm assisted the Pope at a council which he held at Bari, and acquired great honour by a speech he made against the heresy of the Greek church, about the procession of the Holy Ghost. The holy Pon-

* Sarisburiens, vita Anselmi, in Anglia Sacra. t. 2, p. 166.

tiff, (who had been much puzzled in the course of the debate,) was so enraptured with his speech, that at the close he cried out, "Blessed be thy heart and thy senses, O Anselm! blessed be thy mouth, and the speeches of thy mouth."

Anselm was present at another Papal council held at Rome towards the end of this year, in which it was declared, that the King of England deserved to be excommunicated for his treatment of Anselm; but at the request of that Prelate, the execution of that sentence was postponed. At this council, the famous canon against lay-investitures was confirmed, denouncing excommunication against all lay-men who presumed to grant investitures, of any ecclesiastical benefices, and of all Clergymen who accepted of such investitures, or did homage to temporal Princes: a canon that Anselm remembered too well, both for his own peace, and the peace of England.

The reason assigned by the Pope for enforcing this canon, as related by Eadmerus, who was present in the council and heard his speech, is horrid and impious in the highest degree. "It is execrable," said his holiness, "to see those hands which create "God, the creator of all things (a power "never granted to angels,) and offer him in

"sacrifice to the father for the redemption of "the whole world, put between the hands "of a Prince stained with blood, and pol- "luted day and night with obscene contacts. "To which all the fathers of the council "cried, Amen! Amen! At these transac- tions (says the narrater) I was present, and all these things I saw and heard."*

The messenger who had been sent into England with a letter from the Pope to the King, in favour of Anselm, returned with very unwelcome tidings. He told his holiness that it was with much difficulty the King was persuaded to receive and read the letter; and that when he was informed the bearer of it was a servant of Anselm, he swore by the image of Christ at Lucca (his usual oath,) that if the bearer did not leave England immediately, he would pull out his eyes; the fear of which made him retire without waiting for an answer. The King having considered the matter more temporately, wrote the following prompt laconic reply to the Pope's letter, (which he sent by a messenger accompanied with a very handsome present,) "I am much surprised how it came "into your head to intercede for the restora- "tion of Anselm. Before he left my king- "dom, I warned him that I would seize all

* Eadmer p. 53.

"the revenues of his see as soon as he de-
"parted. I have done what I threatened,
"and what I had a right to do; and you are
"in the wrong to blame me."* The Pope on reading this epistle ordered the messenger to return immediately and inform the King, that unless he would hazard the highest censure of the church, he must instantly reinstate Anselm in all the archiepiscopal privileges and immunities. But notwithstanding the Pope assuming such a high tone, he was not proof against what Solomon says; "Every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts," for having accepted the King's present, he abandoned the cause of his friend. Anselm, finding himself deserted by the court of Rome, left the city in disgust, and retired to Lyons; where he lived in exile till after the death of William Rufus, which took place August 2nd, A. D. 1100.

During his retirement from public life, he employed his active mind in writing several valuable treatises on some disputed points of theology. One of his works was on the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Incarnation. Another was Reasons why God should become man. These works were particularly useful at that time to the church of Christ, as they refuted the sentiments of

* Ibid. 51.

Roscelin, who had published some very erroneous ideas on the Trinity. The pernicious doctrines of Arianism, and Socinianism, which had slept for ages, had awaked, and taking advantage of the general ignorance which then prevailed, to corrupt the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The book commonly called Augustine's Meditations, was chiefly extracted from the writings of Anselm.

Most of the Princes of Europe had long been afflicted with a croisading mania, which had proved fatal to thousands. At length William Duke of Guyenne caught the infection, and put himself at the head of an army of adventurers to go and take the Holy Land; and in order to raise the necessary means, he offered to mortgage his Duchy to the King of England for a certain sum of money. William Rufus, who was as ambitious as he was rich;--accepted the offer, provided the money, and prepared an army to take possession of his new territories, with which he lay near the sea coast, waiting for a fair wind to waft him to the continent.

After dinner, on the 2nd August, A. D. 1100, the King, with his brother Prince Henry and a numerous retinue, went to hunt in the New Forest, where an event happened which put an end to all the projects

of this restless and ambitious Monarch. Towards evening, when the company were dispersed in pursuit of their game, a buck suddenly springing between the King and one Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman who excelled in archery, he discharged an arrow at him, which glancing on a tree, struck his royal master on the breast, pierced his heart, and deprived him of life, almost without a groan.*

Thus fell William Rufus, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age; when in perfect health, in great prosperity, and full of schemes for the enlargement of his dominions, the increase of his riches, and the gratification of his passions. Of this King Dr. Henry gives the following character.

"In his person he was strong and active, of a sanguine complexion, red hair, a stern and haughty aspect, with a stammering in his speech, especially when he was angry. In his temper he was ambitious, covetous, cruel, proud, and passionate; a prophane swearer, and scoffer at religion; addicted to wine and women; vain in his dress, delighting in the society of the loose and profligate of both sexes. His great activity, bravery, and skill in war, would have been

* Chron. Saxon. p. 207. Hen. Hunt, l. 7. p. 217.

virtues, if they had not been employed in robbing his unhappy brother of his dominions, and in disturbing his neighbours. To his English subjects he was ungrateful and perfidious, violating all his promises, and trampling upon all their laws. To his soldiers, and to those who administered to his pleasures, he was profuse of that money which he had extorted from his people by the most oppressive arts. Ralph Flambard, a man of mean birth and most abandoned character, his greatest favourite, and the chief instrument of his tyranny, was raised by him to the highest honours, being Bishop of Durham, and chief justiciary of the kingdom. It is no wonder that a Prince of this odious character died unlamented. As he was never married he left no legitimate children."†

† Henry's Hist. England, vol. 5, p. 50, 51.

CHAPTER X.

Accession of Henry I.—Anselm recalled.—His interest on behalf of Henry, when Robert Duke of Normandy landed.—Henry and Anselm disagree.—Both refer to the Pope.—Duplicity of the court of Rome.—Council at London.—Anselm goes to Rome.—The Pope excommunicates the three English Bishops who exposed his duplicity.—Anselm visits Rome the second time.—The Pope refuses Henry's claim, for which Anselm is forbid to return to England.—Method of raising money to build New Churches, &c.—Remarks on the Architecture of that period.—Council of London, A. D. 1107. *—Ely made a Bishopric.—Canons of the council of A. D.* 1108, *against the marriages of the Clergy.—Death and character of Anselm.—Memoir of Ingulphus.*

Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, was pursuing game in another part of the New Forest, when his brother William was killed. On hearing of that event he set out on full speed to Winchester, and seized the royal treasures, with which he hastened to London; and there by great presents and greater promises, he secured the interest of such a number of friends, that, though he knew the crown of right belonged to his elder brother Robert, he

was crowned at Westminster, by Maurice, Bishop of London, on Sunday, August 5th, A. D. 1100.

Though Henry had by his courage and celerity obtained the crown, yet he knew he could only retain it by gaining the affections of his people, to accomplish which he employed every imaginable art of popularity. He recalled Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the idol of the Clergy, and a saint in the estimation of the Pope. He published a proclamation promising to redress all the wrongs of the two preceding reigns, and to revive the laws of Edward the Confessor. He seized Ralph Flambard Bishop of Durham, the detested instrument of his brother's oppressions, and threw him into prison; and banished from the court all the profligate companions of his brother's pleasures, set at liberty many prisoners of state, and remitted many debts that were owing to the crown. By these means Henry's government became very popular, especially among the Clergy and the common people, who found a sensible difference between his mild administration and the tyranny of his brother William.

Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury landed at Dover, September 23rd, and a few days after was received by the King at Salisbury,

with every mark of respect; and Henry even condescended to make an apology to him for having being crowned by another Prelate before his arrival.* This cordiality between the King and the Primate was not of long continuance; for as soon as Anselm was desired to do homage to the King for the temporalities of his see, he returned a flat refusal, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct, declaring, that if the King insisted on his pretensions to the homage of the Clergy, he could keep no communion with him, and would immediately leave the kingdom. Anselm's positive refusal to do homage, threw Henry into great confusion. On the one hand he was very unwilling to resign the prerogative of bestowing ecclesiastical benefices, and receiving the homage of his Prelates; and on the other hand, he dreaded the departure of the Primate, whom he expected would immediately join his brother Robert, who had returned to Normandy from the holy land, and was preparing to assert his right to the crown of England.— In this difficulty the King proposed a truce, till both parties could send ambassadors to the Pope for his final determination; to

* Eadmer, p. 56.

which Anselm, who well knew what would be the Pope's answer, at last agreed.*

During the absence of these ambassadors to Rome, Anselm performed some valuable services for King Henry. He presided in a council of the English Clergy, in which, after a very solemn investigation, it was declared that the Princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, who had been educated in a nunnery, and had sometimes worn a veil, was at liberty to marry; and Anselm had the honour of performing the marriage solemnities between the King and that Princess, and placed the crown on her head.†

Robert, Duke of Normandy received great encouragement from a number of English noblemen, who promised to assist him in attempting the recovery of the crown of England; and on the 19th of July, A. D. 1101, Robert landed an army at Portsmouth, where he was joined by a number of his partizans. Henry had lost no time in preparing for such an event, in which he was greatly assisted by the Clergy, whose exhortations in his favour had a powerful effect on the minds of the laity, but his chief help was from Anselm, to whom he was indebted for the interest of several of the nobility,

* Eadmer, p. 56. † ibid. p. 57, 58.

who had been vacillating between the two brothers, whom he confirmed in Henry's interest by threatening them with the wrath of heaven and the church if they revolted. He even became surety for Henry, to the barons of his party, that he would never break any of his promises, or revoke any of the liberties he had granted, and thereby keep them steady in their attachment.*

Henry marched his army towards Pevensey, expecting that the invasion would have been attempted there, but on hearing that Robert had landed an army at Portsmouth, and had been joined by his partizans, he directed his march that way. When the two armies which were nearly equal in number, came in sight of each other, they were struck with mutual awe, and remained stationary several days without coming to action. This suspension of active operations afforded the Archbishop, and several of the barons of both parties who were desirous of peace, an opportunity of setting a treaty on foot, which terminated in an accommodation on the following terms. Robert relinquished his claim to the crown of England for an annual pension of three thousand marks.—All the barons of both parties were restored to all their estates and honours in Normandy

* Eadmer p. 59.

and England. Henry was to give up to Robert all the places which he held in Normandy; and it was further stipulated, that if either of the brothers died without legitimate male issue, the other should succeed to all his dominions. This peace was according to the custom of these times, guaranteed by twelve of the most powerful barons of each party;* after which the armies were disbanded, and Robert spent about two months at the court of his brother in great festivity, before he returned into Normandy.

Soon after Henry had secured the crown of England, his messengers arrived from Rome with letters from the Pope, in which his holiness asserted, in the strongest terms, "That the church, and all its revenues, belonged entirely to St. Peter, and his successors:—and that Emperors, Kings, and Princes, had no right to give the investiture of benifices to the Clergy, or to demand homage from them." This doctrine he endeavoured to prove by the most gross misapplication of several texts of scripture, and by other arguments, which are either blasphemy or nonsense. For example:—"How abominable is it," said he, "for a son to beget his father, and a man to create his God?

* Chron. Saxon. p. 209, 210. 1. Brompt. col. 998.

and are not Priests your fathers and your Gods ?"*

This curious piece of Papal reasoning, rather irritated than convinced Henry; for the first time the Primate appeared at court, he required him in a peremptory tone to do homage to him for the revenues of his see, and to consecrate certain Bishops and Abbots, according to ancient custom, or depart the kingdom; adding—"I will suffer no subject to live in my dominions who refuses to do me homage." To which the Archbishop promptly replied,—"I am prohibited, "by the canons of the council of Rome, to "do what you require.—I will not depart "the kingdom, but stay in my Province, "and perform my duty; and let me see who "dares to do me any injury;" and immediately left the court, and returned to Canterbury.†

Not long after, the King convened a great council at Winchester, to which the Primate was summoned, who attended. In this council it was agreed to send ambassadors to Rome to declare to the Pope, in the name of the King and nobility of England,—"That if he persisted to deny the King's right to investitures and homage, they would drive Anselm out of the kingdom, with-

* Eadmer, p. 61. extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 293. † Id p. 62.

draw their subjection to the see of Rome, and withhold their usual payments."

The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Norwich, and the Bishop of Chester, were chosen as the King's ambassadors to carry this unwelcome message, and manage this difficult negociation with the Pope. Anselm also had permission to send two of his friends to represent his case, and he chose Baldwin and Alexander.

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, and had delivered their message to the Pope, the contents threw the whole conclave into the greatest consternation. On the one hand, the Pope was unwilling to lose his interest in the King and people of England; and on the other, he was still more unwilling either to relinquish his own pretentions, or abandon so good a friend as Anselm.—But as it is a maxim in Papal policy, "that all means are right, which serve the interest of the church;" he soon found means to extricate himself from this difficulty, at the slight expense of his own veracity. To the King's ambassadors he made the most solemn promises in private, that he would wink at their master's giving investitures and receiving homage; and that though he might threaten, he would never inflict any censures upon him on that account; but that

he could not in prudence make such promises in public, or in writing, lest other Princes should claim the same indulgence. To the Primate's messengers he spoke a very different language; and gave them a letter to Anselm, exhorting him to adhere steadily to the canons against investitures and homage, and he would support him with all his power.

After the return of the ambassadors from Rome, a great council was held at London, A. D. 1102, to receive their report. But how were the King and council surprised, when the ambassadors gave such contradictory reports! the three Prelates affirming in the strongest terms, that the Pope had promised to dispense with the execution of the canons against lay-investitures and homage; and the two monks, Baldwin and Alexander, affirming the direct contrary, and producing the Pope's letters in confirmation of their testimony. This occasioned very violent debates, and involved the matter in much uncertainty; the King, the Bishops, and nobility, gave full credit to the report of the Prelates, and Anselm and his friends to that of his messengers; while the duplicity of his holiness became strongly suspected by both parties.* To bring this

* Eadmer, p. 63—66.

unhappy discussion to a close, the Primate proposed to send other ambassadors to Rome to discover the real sentiments of the Pope, and in the mean time promised to keep communion with those Prelates who had received investiture from the King by the pastoral staff and ring; and his proposal was accepted.

By one canon of this great council it was determined that no Priest should marry; and those who were already married, were commanded to put away their wives. By another canon it was decreed, that the sons of Priests should not be heirs to their father's churches;—and by another, marriage is prohibited to those who are within the seventh degree of kindred. The twenty-sixth canon forbade the worship of fountains, which was probably a relick of druidical superstition. Anselm was a violent opposer of all innovations, even in articles of dress and ornament. He preached most vehemently the long and curled hair then coming into fashion; and his *authority* and eloquence had the effect of inducing many young men to abandon that ornament and appear in cropt hair, which the Primate strongly recommended in his sermons One of his correspondents writing to him about this time, concluded his letter by saying, that religion was ruined by

his absence; that sodomy and wearing long hair, (which he appeared to consider as sins of equal magnitude,) were become very common, and nobody had the courage to reprove them.

The King had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury about mid-lent, A.D. 1103, in which he laboured, both by threats and promises, to induce him to do homage for the temporalities of his see; but all in vain. The Archbishop replied, that his messengers were now returned from Rome, and had brought letters from the Pope, which he had not yet opened, but that he was willing to be governed entirely by their contents. The King knowing that nothing favourable to his views were to be expected from the Pope, answered in a violent passion,—"What have I to do with the Pope, or his letters? The prerogatives of my predecessors belong to me; and whoever attempts to deprive me of them, shall feel the weight of my indignation." The Archbishop calmly replied,—"I am determined to die rather than violate the canons of the church without the commands of the Pope."* The King finding that the firmness of the Archbishop was not to be shaken by threatenings, changed his tone, and intreated

* Eadmer, p. 70.

Anselm to go to Rome, and endeavour to procure what others had failed to obtain, "that I may be allowed to enjoy the prerogatives of my predecessors."* Anselm thought this ought to be delayed till Easter, that the sentiments of the Bishops and Nobility might then be taken. Accordingly, when the great council met, as usual at that festival, all the members joined with the King, and intreated the Archbishop to undertake the journey; to which he consented, and set out without delay, April 29th, A.D. 1103.

When Anselm arrived at the abbey of Becc in Normandy, where he had formerly been Abbot, he opened the Pope's letters, which for several prudential reasons, he had not done before, and found that they contained,—the highest expressions in favour of his own conduct, -the most solemn asseverations, that the report of the three English Prelates who had lately been at Rome, was entirely false; for which he excommunicated them as impudent notorious liars. In these letters, the Pope further declared, that he was fully determined to see the canons against lay-investitures strictly executed. "For if "we allow, (says he) Kings and Emperors "to give a Bishop the staff, the sign of his "pastoral office, and the ring the sign of

* Id. Ibid.

"his faith, the church, and even Christianity "itself, will be immediately destroyed."*— Though, after reading these letters, Anselm could have no hopes of success in his embassy, (which it is probable he did not desire,) he set out from Becc, in August, and soon after arrived at Rome.

When the King desired Anselm to undertake this journey to Rome, he had no expectation of him proving a zealous advocate in his cause, and therefore sent to the court of Rome one William Warelwast, an able, active, and faithful servant, well furnished with such arguments as were likely to prove most convincing in that corrupt and venal court, in which the merits of a man's cause is often determined by the dimensions of his purse. William travelled with so much expedition, that he reached Rome several weeks before the Archbishop, and by the logic of his purse, he convinced so many of the goodness of his cause, that before the arrival of Anselm, he began to entertain flattering hopes of success in his negociation.

Soon after the arrival of Anselm, the Pope called a consistory to examine the cause; before which William Warelwast made a long harangue, in defence of the right of the King of England to grant investiture to

* Eadmer, Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 298.

the Prelates of his kingdom, and to receive homage from them: nor did he omit to remind the assembly of the great munificence of the Kings of England to the church of Rome; and at the the same time insinuate, that if a favourable sentence on this case was not given, that munificence would be withdrawn. Anselm took no part in the debates, but several of the members whose opinions had been previously purchased, spoke in favour of the King of England's claim, and represented the danger of provoking so great a Prince. To give effect to these arguments, Warelwast declared, "That he knew his master was resolved to "lose his kingdom, rather than relinquish "his right to grant investitures." This bold declaration roused the pride, and inflamed the passion of the holy Pontiff; who said,—"And I swear before God, that Pope "Pascal will rather lose his life than suffer "him to enjoy his pretended right."

This positive declaration from the Pope, put an end to all further debate; and a decree was made against the King's right to grant investitures, and excommunicating all Prelates who had received, or should receive them from his hand, until they made satisfaction, and were absolved by their Primate. As a still further proof of the Pope's high

approbation of the Primate's conduct, he granted him a bull, confirming the primacy of England to him and his successors in the see of Canterbury; and then dismissed him with every mark of affection and esteem.†

Warelwast, the King's agent, remained at Rome a short time after the departure of Anselm, in hope of gaining some advantage in his absence; but all he could obtain was a condoling letter from the Pope to the King, congratulating him on his success in Normandy, and on the birth of his son; and assured him, that it was out of pure love to his person, that he had taken the dangerous right of investitures from him, which would certainly have brought the vengeance of heaven upon his head. The Pope further promised, that if the King would be a very dutiful son of the church, and be very kind and obedient to the Archbishop, he would grant him, and his Queen, a full pardon of all their sins, and bestow many graces on the young Prince their son.‡

Warelwast having done all he could to serve the cause of his master at Rome, he left and on his way to England, waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lyons; to whom he intimated in the King's name,—"That if he would behave to the King, as

† Eadmer, ld. p. 74, 75. ‡ Id. ibid.

"former Archbishops of Canterbury had "behaved to his predecessors, he might re- "turn to England." In answer to this intimation, Anselm sent messengers of his own, with a very haughty letter to the King; in which he told him plainly, that he would not do homage to him as former Archbishops had done to his predecessors;—that he would not keep communion with any of those Prelates who had received the pastoral staff and ring at his hands;—nor would he come into England under any other terms;—protesting, that all the souls that should be lost through his absence, should be laid to the King's charge.

As soon as Warelwast returned and delivered the Pope's letter to the King, he immediately seized all the revenues of the see of Canterbury; and Anselm continued at Lyons a year and four months in a state of exile.

Notwithstanding the severe struggles between the King, the Pope, and the Primate, about investitures, the church of England during this period, was rapidly rising in outward splendour, as appears from a contemporary writer, who describes it thus:— "The new cathedrals and innumerable "churches that were built in all parts, toge- "ther with the many magnificent cloisters

"and monasteries, and other apartments of "monks that were then erected, afford a "sufficient proof of the great felicity of Eng- "land in the reign of Henry I. The reli- "gious of every order enjoying peace and "prosperity, displayed the most astonishing "ardour in every thing that might increase "the splendour of divine worship. The fer- "vent zeal of the faithful prompted them to "pull down houses and churches every "where, and rebuild them in a better man- "ner. By this means the ancient edifices "that had been raised in the days of Edgar, "Edward, and other Christian Kings, were "demolished, and others of greater magni- "tude and magnificence, and of more ele- "gant workmanship, were erected in their "room to the glory of God."*

The means by which money was raised for the erection of such stupendous buildings, shews at once the amazing influence which the Popish Priests possessed over the minds and purses of the people; as will appear from the following example. When Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, resolved to rebuild the church of his monastery in a most magnificent manner, A. D. 1106, he obtained from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, a bull dispensing with the third

* Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. l. 10. p. 788.

part of all penances for sin to those who contributed any thing towards the building of that church. This bull was directed not only to the King and people of England, but to the Kings of France and Scotland, and to all other Kings, Earls, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Rectors, Presbyters, and Clerks, and to all true believers in Christ, rich and poor, in all Christian kingdoms. To make the best use of this bull, he sent two of his most eloquent monks to proclaim it over all France and Flanders, two other monks into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into different parts of England. "By this means (says the historian,) the wonderful benefits "granted to all the contributors to the build-"ing of this church, were published to the "ends of the earth; and great heaps of "treasure and masses of yellow metal flowed "in from all countries, upon the venerable "Abbot Joffred, and encouraged him to lay "the foundations of his church."

Having spent about four years in collecting mountains of different kinds of marble from quarries both at home and abroad, together with great quantities of lime, iron, brass, and other materials for building, he fixed a day for the great ceremony of laying

the foundation, which he contrived to make a very effectual mean of raising the superstructure. For on the long expected day, the feast of the holy virgins *Felicitus* and *Perpetua*, an immense multitude of Earls, Barons, and Knights, with their ladies and families, of Abbots, Priors, Monks, Nuns, Clerks, and persons of all ranks, arrived at Croyland, to assist at this ceremony. The pious Abbot Joffred began by shedding a flood of tears, on the foundation. Then each of the Earls, Barons, Knights, with their ladies, sons, and daughters; the Abbots, Clerks, and others, laid a stone, and upon it deposited a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes, or patronages, or a promise of stone, lime, wood, labour, or carriages, for building the churches. After this the Abbot entertained the whole company at dinner, amounting to five thousand persons.* To this entertainment they were well entitled; for the money, and grants of different kinds, which they had deposited on the foundation-stones, were alone sufficient to have raised a very noble fabric. By such arts as these the Clergy inspired Kings, Nobles, and people of all ranks, with so ardent a spirit for these pious works, that in the course of this period almost all the sacred

* P. Blesens Continuat. Hist. Ingulph. p. 113-120.

edifices in England were rebuilt, and many hundred new ones erected.

This period produced a great change in the sacred architecture. The churches built by the Anglo-Saxons, were plain, low, strong, and dark; the arches both of the doors and windows were semicircular, with few or no ornaments. But the extensive practice of the monks and Priests of this period in architecture, improved their taste and skill, and they formed plans of a more noble, light, and elevated structure, with a great variety of ornaments; thus was introduced that bold magnificent style of building, commonly called *the latter cothic*, which appeared in England about the latter end of the reign of Henry I. and is distinguished from the ancient gothic by the following characteristic marks. The walls were much higher but not so thick, and supported on the outsides by buttresses;—the doors and windows were wider and loftier, and the arches of both were pointed; and sometimes ornamented with clusters of pillars on each side, with great variety of carvings.—The larger windows had mullions of stone for ornament, and the conveniency of fixing the glass. The pillars that supported the roof were lofty and slender, and generally surrounded with small pillars that made them

appear like a cluster;—the arches of the roof like those of the doors and windows, were pointed;—the roof was covered with lead, and the fabric ornamented on the top at each end with pinnacles, and with a tower over the middle of the cross; on which, about the end of this period, very lofty spires of wood and stone began to be erected.*

The improvement in the style of sacred architecture, was accompanied with the cultivation of fine arts, especially sculpture and painting. There is an anecdote preserved by William of Malmsbury, which intimates that portrait-painting was practised in great perfection in this period. A company of banditti in Flanders, who pretended to be adherents of Guibert the Antipope, had formed a design to rob and intercept Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, in his way to Rome, A. D. 1097. The Archbishop having received intelligence of their design, escaped by means of a disguise. That he might not escape in the same manner on his return, the banditti sent an excellent painter to Rome to draw his picture so exactly, that they might know him under any disguise. Of this also the Archbishop received timely intelligence, which so much alarmed him,

* Sir Christ. Wren's Parentalia, p. 298, Grose's Antiq. p. 70.

that he travelled by a very circuitous road, and thereby escaped the danger.

King Henry having forbid the return of the Archbishop to England on account of the Pope's conduct, Anselm, though he was very hospitably entertained at Lyons by Hugh Archbishop of that city; yet he neglected nothing that might contribute to his restoration to his see on his own terms. Having prevailed with the Pope to issue a sentence of excommunication against the Earls of Mellent, King Henry's great favourite, and also a promise, that in a little time, a like sentence against the King himself, he left Lyons in May, A. D. 1105, and paid a visit to Adela Countess of Blois, the King's sister, who was a Princess of great piety, and one of his greatest admirers. In the course of conversation, the Countess asked him, what was his principal design in visiting those parts? when he frankly told her, that it was to publish a sentence of excommunication (which he daily expected from Rome,) against her brother the King of England. The devout Adela was so distressed under the idea of her brother's damnation, (as Eadmer expresses it,) that she never rested till she had negotiated a meeting between him and the Primate, in order to an accommodation.

When all preliminaries were settled, the Countess conducted Anselm to the castle of L'Aigle, in Normandy, and introduced him to the King, July 22nd, A. D. 1105; who received him with every mark of esteem and friendship. After a little conversation, Henry restored Anselm to the revenues of his see, and also gave him liberty to return to England, on this single condition,—That he did not refuse to hold communion with those Prelates who had received royal investitures. But such was the servile bigotry by which the Primate was bound to the Papal see, that he declared he would not comply with the King's conditions, until he had received directions from the Pope, to whom he was determined in all things to yield obedience. It was therefore agreed, that both the King and the Primate should send ambassadors to Rome, to receive the directions of the sovereign Pontiff on the subjects of dispute between them, and that all things should remain quiet till these ambassadors returned.* After these arrangements were adjusted, the Archbishop retired to the abbey of Becc, and the King embarked for England.

The King having thus warded off the blow of excommunication, which he really dread-

* Eadmer, p. 79, 90. Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 302.

ed, was in no haste to send his ambassador to Rome; which greatly offended Anselm and his friends in England. At about Christmas, A. D. 1105, the King sent over his former ambassador William Warelwast, now Bishop elect of Exeter; who proceeded to Rome in company with Baldwin de Torney, ambassador from the Archbishop.—While these messengers were negotiating at the court of Rome, the English Bishops, foreseeing the approaching return of their Primate, thought it proper to compliment him with a letter of invitation, containing expressions of submission and respect.

The success of the King's agent in his negotiation at Rome, far exceeded his most sanguine expectation;—for on March 23rd, A. D. 1106, he received letters from the Pope directed to Anselm, requiring him to grant absolution to all the English Bishops and Abbots who had received investiture from, and had done homage to the King, on their making such satisfaction as William and Baldwin would tell him by word of mouth; and then either to consecrate them himself, or by commission. He directed him not to refuse consecration in future, to such Bishops and Abbots as had done homage to the King, provided they had not received investiture from him. He also

commanded him to receive into his communion those three Prelates who had brought a false report from Rome, and to absolve the King, Queen, and nobility of England, from all their sins. And finally, he advises him to behave with great prudence, gentleness, and meekness to the King and nobles in time to come. By what means these concessions were obtained we are not informed; but that they were greater than Anselm expected, may be inferred from the Pope's apology to him, where he says, "that in order to raise people from the ground, it was necessary to stoop a little."

The King was glad to bring this controversy with the Pope and his Primate to a close, and at once accepted this compromise, and sent an invitation to Anselm to return to England. But when the Archbishop was preparing for his journey, he was seized with a lingering illness which detained him on the continent several months; however he arrived in England, August, A. D. 1106, and was received with the highest testimonies of respect and joy by persons of all ranks.*

After the return of the King, on completing the conquest of Normandy, he convened a great council of the Bishops, Ab-

* Eadmer, p. 89. extr. Henry.

bots, and Nobles, which was held August 1st, A. D. 1107, in the King's palace at London. In this council the right of the King and other lay-patrons to give investitures, by the delivery of the pastoral staff and ring, was debated with great warmth for three days; many of the Nobility pleading boldly in defence of their own rights, and of the rights of their Sovereign. But on the fourth day, the King put an end to the debate, by declaring;—that he was determined to adhere to the late compromise, and to relinquish the ceremony of giving investiture, in order to secure the more important right of receiving the homage of the Clergy; and a solemn act was made agreeable to this declaration, namely, "That in future, none shall be invested by the King or any lay-patron, in any bishopric or abbey, by delivering a pastoral staff and ring; and none who is elected to any prelacy, shall be denied consecration on account of the homage that he does to the King."*

The unhappy controversy about investitures being brought to a final determination, Anselm, assisted by seven of his suffragans, consecrated no fewer than five Bishops in one day, August 11th, A. D. 1108. About the same time he received a letter from Pope

* Spelman. Concil. t. 2. p. 79. Eadmer, p. 92. Id. 91.

Pascal II, permitting him to dispense with that canon of the church, which prohibited the ordination or promotion of the sons of Priests. "Because (says the Pope) the execution of it would be very inconvenient in England, where the best and greatest part of the Clergy are of that kind."

In the end of this, or the beginning of the next year, a new bishopric was erected in the monastery of Ely, with the consent of the King, the Pope, the Primate, and all parties concerned; and Hervey, whom the Welsh had expelled from the see of Bangor, was appointed the first Bishop of Ely.

Notwithstanding the many severe laws, which the barbarous policy of Rome had made against the married Clergy, they had hitherto failed, in finally dissolving the laws of nature among the English Clergy. Anselm was as zealous in support of celibacy as any of his predecessors; and finding that the canons made against the marriage of the Clergy, in the council of London, A. D. 1102, had been totally neglected, and the Priesthood was still profaned by the Clergy acting rather against the canons of a Popish council, than against the law of God which says, *marriage is honourable in all men.*

The Archbishop still bent upon accomplishing his object, convened another coun-

cil which was held in London, in Whitsuntide, A. D. 1108. In this council, in which the King and the Nobility, as well as the Prelates were present, no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce celibacy, and prevent the marriage of the Clergy. By these canons, all Priests, even those in the very lowest orders, are commanded to put away their wives immediately,—not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—never to see their wives, or speak to them, except in cases of great necessity, and in the presence of two or three witnesses. —Those who put away their wives, were to abstain from saying mass for forty days, and to perform such penances as their Bishops should prescribe; but those unhallowed wretches who refused to put away their wives, were instantly to be deposed and excommunicated, and all their goods, together with the persons and goods of their wives, as in the case of adultresses, were to be forfeited to the Bishop of the diocess.* These severe antiscriptural canons, afford sufficient proof that those ecclesiastical tyrants found it no easy task to dissolve the natural and virtuous affection that subsisted between the Clergy of England and their wives.

* Spelman Concil. t. 3. p. 29. Extr. Henry, vol. 5. p. 307.

While these rulers of the church of England were imposing such wicked restraints on the most innocent passions of the inferior Clergy, they set no bounds to their own ambition, which gave birth to many disgraceful transactions. One of the last disputes in which Anselm was engaged, was with Thomas elect of York, who concluded from the advanced age and increasing infirmities of the Primate, that his death was not very distant, delayed coming to Canterbury to receive consecration; hoping that after the death of Anselm, he might obtain it without making the humiliating profession of canonical obedience. The Primate understood well, the secret intentions of the elect of York, and was too tenacious of the prerogatives of his see, not to take the most vigorous measures to prevent their success.

With this view he wrote to the Pope not to grant Thomas his pall, and to all the Bishops of England, not to assist at his consecration, till he had made the usual profession of obedience, which after a long and violent struggle, he was at last constrained to perform.

This appears to have been the last public act of this celebrated Prelate, who survived it but a few months, he died April 20th, A. D. 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his

age, and the sixteenth of his primacy. Anselm was influenced by a fervent zeal for the interest of religion, and on various occasions displayed a manly resolution in its support. Considering the age in which he lived and the character of his voluminous works, he may justly be pronounced a learned man.

Though Anselm's mind was deeply tinctured with the narrow prejudices of a monastic education, and his principles and habits generated under a debasing system of superstition; yet in his writings are found many fine and correct sentiments, on the most essential doctrines of Christianity. In his treatise on the reason why God became man, he says, "I see that the man, whom we seek as qualified to be our Mediator, must be of this description; he must not die of necessity, because he must be omnipotent; nor of debt, because he must not be a sinner; and yet he must die voluntarily, because it was necessary, that he should do so, as Mediator."—"As it is necessary, that man should satisfy for the sin of man, therefore none could make satisfaction, but he who was properly man, Adam himself, or one of his race. That Adam could satisfy was impossible."

In his remarks on the humiliation of Christ, founded upon 2 Cor. viii. 9. he says, "He

assumed poverty, yet lost not his riches; rich within, poor without. God was latent in riches; man was apparent in poverty.—By that blood we have lost the rags of iniquity, that we might be clothed with the garment of immortality. Lest we should not dare with our poverty to approach him, who has all riches in his hand, he exhibited himself poor; that is, God condescended to take upon him our nature. That man might return to internal riches, God condescended to appear externally poor. We should have wanted at least one proof of his tender love to us, unless he had taken upon him our poverty, and he himself had sustained, for a time, that indigence, from which he delivers us."

His views of the efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ he expresses thus: "Christ was made sin for us, that is, a sacrifice for sin. For in the law the sacrifices which are offered for sins, are called sins. Hence Christ is called sin, because he was offered for sin.—He hath blotted out all sin, original and actual; hath fulfilled all righteousness, and opened the kingdom of heaven.—To the end of the world, that victim will be sufficient for the cleansing of all his people."

In his meditations we find some of the undefinable strugglings of a soul that is

truly panting after God. "Draw me, Lord, into thy love. As thy creature, I am thine altogether; make me to be so in love. See, Lord, before thee is my heart; it struggles; but, of itself, it can effect nothing. Do thou, what it cannot do. Admit me into the secret chamber of thy love. I ask, I seek, I knock. Thou who causest me to ask, cause me to receive: thou givest me to seek, give me to find. Thou teachest me to knock, open to my knocking. To whom dost thou give, if thou deniest him that asketh? Who finds, if he that seeks is disappointed? To whom dost thou open, if thou shuttest to him that knocks? What dost thou give to him, who prays not, if thou deniest thy love to him that prays? From thee I have the desire; Oh, may I have the fruition! Stick close to him; stick close importunately, my soul."*

From the above extracts, to which many others equally excellent might be added, it is evident, that though Anselm lived under a cloud of superstitious peculiarities, yet there emanated from him, many pure rays of gospel light. But the monkish historian, (John of Salisbury,) as though zeal for the church, soundness of doctrine, and deep devotion, were insufficient qualifications for

* De Meditat. cap. 7. Extr. Milner's Hist. Chur. v. 3, p. 349.

a saint, has, to suit the credulity of the age, related a number of miracles said to have been performed by him. He relates, that while he was living, a Flemish nobleman was cured of a leprosy by drinking the water in which Anselm had washed his hands in celebrating mass:—that he extinguished fires, calmed tempests, and healed diseases, by making the sign of the cross:—that two soldiers were cured of an ague by tasting crumbs fallen from the bread which he had been eating:—that by prayer to God, he produced a spring of excellent water at the top of a hill, for the relief of certain villagers:—that a ship in which he sailed, having a large hole in one of her planks, took in no water as long as the holy man was on board. On the same authority we are told, that the following miracles were wrought at Anselm's tomb after his death:—that one born deaf, dumb, and blind, obtained his hearing, sight, and speech, by paying his devotions at his tomb:—that a soldier was cured of the dropsy by winding the saint's girdle about his body:—and that the same girdle was successfully applied to the assistance of women in child-birth. Such were some of the lying wonders, imposed upon the credulous people during that long reign

of darkness which preceded the Reformation.

Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, and author of the history of that abbey, was born in London about A. D. 1030. He received the first part of his education at Westminster; and when he visited his father who belonged to the court of Edward the Confessor, he was so fortunate as to engage the attention of Queen Edgitha. That amiable and learned Princess took a pleasure in examining our young scholar on his progress in grammar, and in disputing with him in logic; nor did she ever dismiss him without some present as a mark of her approbation. From Westminster he went to Oxford, where he applied to the study of rhetoric and the Aristotelian philosophy, in which he made a greater proficiency than many of his contemporaries. When he was about twenty-one years of age, he was introduced to William Duke of Normandy, then on a visit to the court of England, and the Prince was so pleased with him, that he appointed him his secretary, and on his return took him with him into his own dominions. Ingulph soon became a great favourite with his Prince, and the chief disposer of all preferments, humbling some and exalting others at his pleasure; but whilst holding this difficult

station, he confessed he did not behave with a proper degree of modesty and prudence. This excited the envy and hatred of many of the courtiers; to avoid the effects of which, he obtained the Duke's permission to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which in those days was quite fashionable.

Being furnished by the Duke with a company of thirty horsemen, he joined Sigfrid, Duke of Mentz, who, with a number of German Nobles, Bishops, Clergy, and others, were preparing for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When they were all united, they formed a company of no fewer than seven thousand pilgrims. In their way they spent some time at Constantinople, performing their devotions in the several churches. In their passage through Lycia, they were attacked by a tribe of Arabs, who after killing and wounding a great number, plundered them of a prodigious mass of money. Those who escaped from this disaster, at length reached Jerusalem,—visited all the holy places, and bedewed the ruins of many churches with their tears, and gave money for their reparation.

They intended to have bathed in Jordan, but being prevented by the roving Arabs, they embarked on board a Genoese fleet at Joppa, and landed at Brundusium, from

whence they travelled through Apulia to Rome. Having gone through a long course of devotions in this city, at the several places distinguished for their sanctity, they separated, and every one made the best of his way into his own country. When Ingulph and his company reached Normandy, they were reduced to twenty half starved wretches, without money, clothes, or horses. A faithful picture of the foolish, and disastrous journies into the Holy Land, so common in those times.

Ingulph was now so much disgusted with the world, that he resolved to forsake it, and become a monk in the abbey of Fontenelle in Normandy; in which, after some years, he was advanced to the office of prior. When William, Duke of Normandy, was preparing for his expedition into England, A. D. 1066, Ingulph was sent by his Abbot with one hundred marks in money, and twelve young men nobly mounted, and completely armed, as a present from their Abby. Ingulph having found a favourable opportunity, presented his men and money to the Duke, who received him very graciously, and found his former affection for him reviving in his bosom. The conquest of England did not erase from William's breast the remembrance of his former favourite,

for he raised him to the government of the rich abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1076, in which he spent the last thirty-four years of his life; governing that society with great prudence, and protecting their possessions from the rapacity of the neighbouring barons, by the favour of his royal master.

The lovers of English history and antiquities, are much indebted to this learned Abbot for his excellent history of the abbey of Croyland, from its foundation, in A. D. 664, to A. D. 1091, into which he has introduced much of the general history of the kingdom, with a variety of curious anecdotes that are no where else to be found.

After faithfully discharging the duties of his office for thirty-four years, he died of the gout, at his abbey, December 1st, A. D. 1109, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.*

* Hist. Ingulph, edit. London, 1594. Oxon. 1684. Extr. Henry, vol. 6, p. 123-126.

CHAPTER XI.

The Pope is offended at Radulphus being made Archbishop of Canterbury without consulting him.—The Welsh apply to King Henry to appoint a Bishop for St. David's.—Council of Salisbury.—Disputes between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.—Both the Pope and Archbishop of York violate their oaths made to King Henry.—Loss of the White Ship, in which the King's two sons and a daughter perished.—Death of Radulphus, who is succeeded by William Corboyl.—The first council held in England by a Roman legate.—Severe canons against the married Clergy.—The Archbishops of Canterbury and York summoned to Rome.—The Primate made legate.—Preaching against long hair.—Bishopric of Carlisle founded.—Death and character of Henry I.—Usurpation of Stephen.—Death of William of Canterbury.—Albericus the Pope's legate elects Theobald to the see of Canterbury.—Stephen seizes the castles of three Bishops which gave rise to a violent contention.—The arrival of the Empress.—Strange conduct of Henry Bishop of Winchester, the King's brother.—King Stephen taken prisoner.—Earl of Glocester taken prisoner, and the Empress very narrowly escapes.—National council at Winchester.—Council held in London.—Pope Eugenius III. summoned the Archbishop to a council at Rheims.—Disputes about his going.—The Death of King Stephen.

At the death of Archbishop Anselm, the King found himself relieved from the long and violent struggles he had had with the

Archbishop about investitures, which made him in no great haste to appoint another Primate, but kept the see vacant not less than five years. At length, after a warm contest between the monks of the cathedral and the Prelates of the Province, Radulphus, Bishop of Rochester, was elected Primate, April 26th, A. D. 1114.

As the new Archbishop was elected without so much as consulting the Pope, the messengers sent to Rome by the Primate to solicit his pall, were not very cordially received; and some of the difficulties thrown in the way would have been insuperable, had they not found a firm supporter in Abbot Anselm, a nephew of the late Primate, who was a great favourite with his Holiness, through whom they at last succeeded; and that Abbot was sent into England with the pall, and a long letter to the King and Bishops. In this letter many texts of scripture are strangely quoted to prove, that no business of any importance ought to be transacted in any nation of Europe, without the knowledge and direction of the Pope. This letter also contains the strongest expressions of resentment against the King and Prelates of England, for their late neglect of the holy see, with threats of excommunication if they did not behave in a more

dutiful manner in future. The King was much incensed at the insolent strain of this epistle, and sent William, Bishop of Exeter to Rome, to expostulate with the Pope on that and some other important subjects.

About this time, the people of Wales were so much humbled by the superior power of Henry, that the Clergy of the church of St. David's applied to him to nominate a fit person to be Bishop of that see; and he named Bernard, Chaplain to the Queen. That a circumstance of this kind had not before occurred is clear, from the violent dispute which arose between the King and the Archbishop about the place where the Bishop-elect of St. David's ought to be consecrated, in which the policy of the Prince yielded to the pertinacity of the Prelate.*

The history of the church furnishes numerous instances, of the most trifling objects exciting the warmest and most vehement controversies. Such were the disputes about the Archbishops of York, having to make a profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishops of Canterbury, which had so often disturbed the peace of the church of England, and was again revived by Thurstan, elect of York, who refused to make that profes-

* Eadmer, p. 116. Henry, vol. 5, p. 310.

sion. This dispute was at last brought before a great council at Salisbury, held March 18th, A. D. 1116; and such was the pride and obstinacy of Thurstan, that when the King and council declared against him, he chose rather to relinquish his see than to submit. But after Thurstan had taken time for his temper to cool, he repented of his rash step, and followed the King into Normandy, earnestly soliciting to be restored to the dignity he had too hastily resigned.—Thurstan, meeting with but little encouragement from the King, he applied to Rome, and by employing those arguments which he knew would be most successful in that court, he at last obtained a bull from the Pope, A.D. 1118, restoring him to his see, and promising that his Holiness would hear both parties in the dispute between Canterbury and York, in his own presence, and determine it according to justice.* But this bull failed in putting an end to the controversy; for the Primate still refused to consecrate the elect of York, without a profession of canonical obedience, which he as obstinately refused to make.

The Pope summoned a general council to meet at Rheims in France, in October, A. D. 1119, and Thurstan petitioned the King for

* Eadmer, p. 121. Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 310.

leave to attend it. But Henry, suspecting his intention, obliged him to give a solemn promise on oath, that he would neither ask nor accept of consecration from the Pope; and for the greater security, he also obtained a solemn promise from the Pope, that he would not grant consecration to Thurstan. But all these oaths and promises were most shamefully violated; for as soon as Thurstan arrived at Rheims, he was consecrated by his Holiness in the cathedral church of that city.* This base transaction so provoked the King, that he solemnly swore he would never suffer Thurstan to enter any of his dominions.

Some time after, the King had an interview with the Pope at Gisors, when his Holiness importuned him to allow his friend Thurstan to return to his see, and he would absolve him from his oath. After reflecting a little on this proposal, the King replied,

* What was here practised by the Pope, has since then, been publicly taught by some of the fathers of that church. Valentia says, "that though a man deliberately intended to bind himself, he is not bound unless he had an intention of *executing* what he promised." The reason he assigns is this,—"That the vow remains null so long, as the man is *unwilling* to execute it."—*Scio Valentium, Q. 2. d. 6, p. 1.*

Father Sanchez says, "A man may swear that he has not done a thing, though in fact he has done it, meaning that he did it not on a certain day, or before he was born; or understanding any other circumstance of a similar nature."—"This" he adds, "will be found extremely convenient on numerous occasions."—*Sanch. L. 3, num. 15, 19.*

that he could not accept his absolution, because such trifling with oaths and promises would destroy all faith and confidence among mankind.*

At this interview the King obtained a promise from the Pope, that he would not send any legates into England or Normandy without his requisition, which was no better kept than other papal promises; for Calixtus, who made this promise, having defeated his rival, Michael Burdinus the antipope, and taken him prisoner, sent his legates, under the specious pretence of communicating this joyful news into all the different nations of Europe, and among others, into England, without the least regard to his late engagement. However forgetful the Pope might be of his engagement, it was remembered by King Henry, for though he received the legate with no little ceremony, and treated him with much respect, yet he told him plainly, that he could not acknowledge him as legate, nor suffer him to perform one act in virtue of that commission.†

The subject that had the greatest weight on Henry's mind was, how to secure for his son William, the peaceable succession to his dominions both in England and Normandy, which he apprehended would be disputed by

* Eadmer, p. 126. † Ibid. p. 137.

William, his brother Robert's son, as several of the most powerful Princes on the Continent had espoused his cause, and brought a numerous army into the field to make an attack upon Normandy. Henry lost no time in preparing for its defence, and on the 20th August, A. D. 1119, a severe battle was fought, in which two Kings, and two Princes were engaged, and terminated in favour of the English. King Henry had a very narrow escape with his life; he received two very severe blows on the head from William Crispin, a French Knight, and was only saved by the goodness of his helmet.—A peace was soon after made through the mediation of Pope Calixtus II, when Henry, still further to secure the succession of his beloved son, compelled the Norman nobility to renew their oaths of fealty to him as his successor.

The King having settled all his affairs in Normandy, embarked at Barfleur, November, A. D. 1120, and landed in England next day. One of the finest vessels in the fleet, called *the White Ship*, was allotted for Prince William and his retinue, consisting of a great number of young nobility. The Prince being detained a little after his father, ordered three casks of wine to be given to the ship's crew, with which they

made too free, and many of them were in a state of intoxication when they sailed, which was about the close of the day. The commander, Thomas Fitz-Stephen, having promised the Prince to overtake the rest of the fleet, crowded all his sails, as well as plied all his oars. But when the ship was passing through the water with great velocity, she suddenly struck upon a rock called the *Catte-raze*, with such violence, that she started several planks, and almost overset. In a moment all was terror, uproar, and confusion. The boat was immediately let down, the Prince and some of the young nobility put into it; and having got clear of the ship, might have reached the shore which was at no great distance. But the Prince was so much affected with the shrieks of his natural sister, the Countess of Perche, that he commanded the boat to put back to take her in, and save her life. As soon as the boat approached the ship, where despair had destroyed all distinctions or rank, such multitudes poured into it, that it instantly sunk, and all on board it perished. In a word, of three hundred persons on board this ship, of whom about fifty were sailors, eighteen were ladies of the first rank; the rest, besides the Prince, and his natural brother Richard, were young noblemen and gentlemen, and

their necessary attendants, only one man escaped with life to relate their mournful fate. This was one Bertroud, a butcher at Rouen, who being a strong man, and warmly clothed, climbed to the top of the mast, where he was picked up the next morning by some fishermen. The fate of his son was concealed from Henry for three days, none of the courtiers being willing to convey the doleful tidings to their King, who was in a state of the most tormenting anxiety about his beloved son. At last the intelligence was taken by a little boy, properly instructed, who came all in tears, and falling at the King's feet, told him in few words, that the Prince, and all on board the White Ship, were lost. The stout-hearted Henry was so thunder-struck with this dreadful news, that he staggered, sunk on the floor, and fainted away. When he recovered, he gave vent to his feelings by the bitterest lamentations over his two sons, and the young nobles who had perished with them. This painful event gave facilities to the see of Rome for extending the papal power beyond what it had before reached in this kingdom, as will be seen in the history of the next reign.

Radulphus, Archbishop of Canterbury, died October 20th, A. D. 1122, in the ninth year of his primacy. William of Malms-

bury, who was intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him as a man of eminent piety and learning, of a generous disposition and affable deportment; but a little too much addicted to jocularity for the dignity of his station.

The death of Radulphus, gave rise to a warm contest between the monks of Canterbury and the Bishops of the province, about the choice of an Archbishop; in which the Bishops, being secretly countenanced by the King, at length prevailed, and William Corboyl, Prior of Chiche, was elected at Gloucester on the feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, A. D. 1123, and was consecrated at Canterbury by the Bishops of London and Westminster, assisted by some of the other English Prelates. When the Archbishop made the usual journey to Rome for his pall, he endeavoured to obtain a decision in favour of his see, in that long dispute between the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, which was still pending. But in this he did not succeed; for his Holiness was in no haste to determine a question, which gave him so much authority over the church of England.

One of the most specious, and successful arts employed by the Pope, to bring the several churches of Europe under his entire

dominion, was that of sending legates into all countries, with commissions to hold national councils, in the name and by the authority of the Pope. Though every attempt to procure the admission of such Papal legates into England had hitherto failed, the policy of Rome was still prepared to seize the first favourable opportunity for renewing these attempts. Such an opportunity now occurred, when the King of England was engaged in a hazardous war on the Continent, and when he had need of all the assistance he could derive from the court of Rome. This favourable season was not neglected; for Honorius II, granted a commission, April 13th, A. D. 1126, to John de Crema, a cardinal Priest, to be his legate in England and Scotland. The legate, having waited on King Henry in Normandy, he at length though with much difficulty, obtained his permission to proceed to England. On his arrival he convened a national council over which he presided, which met at Westminster, September 9th, A. D. 1126, there were present both the Archbishops, twenty Bishops, forty Abbots, and an incredible number of Clergy and Laity.* In this council, which was the first in which a Roman legate had presided in England, no fewer than

* Spelman Concil. t. 2, p. 32, 33.

seventeen canons were made, and published, in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone. The most remarkable thing in these canons is what relates to the celibacy of the Clergy, which extended to those in the lowest orders, who are forbidden to have any women in their houses, except their sisters, or aunts, or those of whom there could be no suspicion.*

In the night after the conclusion of this council, an incident happened, which excited no little interest, and brought a flood of scandal on the Roman Clergy. John de Crema, the Pope's legate, who the day before, had declaimed with great warmth in honour of immaculate chastity, and inveighed with no less vehemence against the horrid impurity of the married Clergy, was that night caught in bed with a harlot. The detection was so undeniable, and soon became so public, that the legate dared not to shew his face, but sneaked out of England with the greatest secrecy and precipitation.† This incident was very gratifying to the married Clergy, (who probably had been the detectors,) and rendered the canon of the latter council against them abortive and contemptible.

* Spelman Concil. t. 2, p. 34. † Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 219. R. Hoveden, p. 274. J. Brompt col. 1115. Extr. Henry.

The two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, were summoned to appear at Rome, to plead the cause about the prerogatives of their respective sees, which had long been pending before the Pope. Thurstan, Archbishop of York, being the greatest favourite with the Pope, obtained a bull exempting him and his successors from all canonical subjection to the see of Canterbury, and placing the two Prelates of Canterbury and York on an equality. Another circumstance proved disastrous to the Archbishop of Canterbury; before he left Rome, he was by some means prevailed upon to degrade himself and successors, by accepting a commission to be the Pope's legate in England, probably hoping to receive by his commission, that authority over his rival Thurstan, which he had lost by the late bull.

Immediately on his return to England, he convened a national council to meet at Westminster, May 17th, A. D. 1127, and presided over it in the character of the Pope's legate. Thurstan, determined not to shew any mark of subjection to William even in this new character, therefore did not attend this council; and his suffragan, the Bishop of Durham, also sent an excuse. The canons of this council were evidently formed in Rome, as well as the authority by which they

were promulgated. The most remarkable one is that, in which the marriage of the Clergy is styled the plague of the church; and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their most zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of Priests and Canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the Bishop: and any person, or persons, attempting to exempt these unhappy victims from the sentence of the church, were to be excommunicated.* These canons afford a sufficient proof of the power and tyranny of the court of Rome, from whence they came; and also of the great difficulty of establishing celibacy among the inferior Clergy of the church of England; which even these severe canons were far from accomplishing.

As all the former canons had failed to overthrow the laws of nature and of God; the Archbishop of Canterbury convened a council, which met at London on Monday September 29th, A. D. 1129, and continued to sit till Friday, October 3rd. The main business of this council was, to devise some

* Spelman Concil. t. 2, p. 35, 36. Wilkin Con. t. 1, p. 410.

more effectual means, to compel the inferior Clergy to put away their wives. To accomplish this end, it was decreed, that all Priests who were married, should put away their wives on or before the feast of St. Andrew (November 30th,) next; and that all those who did not obey this decree, should be immediately turned out of their churches and houses, and declared incapable of holding any office or benefice in the church. To render this decree still more effectual, the council committed the execution of it to the King. But this proved to be very bad policy, and quite frustrated the whole design: for the King, instead of compelling the Clergy to put away their wives, found that it would be more to his advantage to impose a tax on those who chose to live with them; which, it is said, brought a large sum into the royal treasury.

The wickedness of the married Priests in not putting away their wives, was not the only sin then exposed by the Roman Clergy. There was scarcely any sin against which the Clergy declaimed with greater vehemency, than the long and curled hair, which was very fashionable at this period, among the nobility and courtiers, but from indulging in which, the Clergy were deprived by

* Wilkin Concil, t. 1. p. 411. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 220. Hnery, vol. 5. p. 318.

the clerical tonsure.—Serlo, a Norman Bishop, rose into high repute by a sermon which he preached before King Henry I, against long hair, with which the King and all his courtiers were so much affected, that they consented to resign their flowing ringlets, of which they had been so vain. The prudent Prelate gave them no time to change their minds, but immediately pulled a pair of shears out of his sleeve, and performed the operation with his own hand.* But the conversion of the King and a few of his courtiers, was not followed by that of his subjects; for a curious circumstance occurred a few years after, A. D. 1112, which gave another temporary check to the prevailing fondness for long hair. It is related by William of Malmsbury as follows:—"An event happened, which seemed very wonder-
"ful to our young gallants; who, forgetting
"that they were men, had transformed them-
"selves into women by the length of their
"hair. A certain Knight, who was very
"proud of his long luxuriant hair, dreamed
"that a person suffocated him with his curls.
"As soon as he awoke from his sleep, he
"cut his hair to a decent length. The re-
"port of this spread over all England, and
"almost all the Knights reduced their hair

* Orderic, Vit. p. 816.

"to the proper standard. But this reforma-
"tion was not of long continuance; for
"in less than a year, all who desired to ap-
"pear fashionable, returned to their former
"wickedness, and contended with the ladies
"in the length of their hair; and those to
"whom nature had denied that ornament,
"supplied the defect by art.*

On the death of Pope Honorius II, expired the legantine commission of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, which happened on February 14th, A. D. 1130, and on that day two Popes were chosen; one of whom assumed the name of Innocent II, and the other that of Anacletus. This schism continued about nine years, but terminated in favour of Innocent, who was acknowledged by the Emperor and the Kings of France and England.* Whilst the frequent schisms in the Papacy during the middle ages were in their operation very unfriendly to the boasted pretensions of the church of Rome, they proved very friendly to the rights of other churches. For while the rival Popes were employed in cursing and destroying one another, they had no leisure to disturb the peace, or invade the rights of the rest of mankind. During this schism, in particu-

* W. Malms. Hist. Novel. l. 1. p. 99. col. 2. † Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent 12.

lar, the church of England was governed by her own Prelates, and enjoyed great tranquillity to the death of Henry I. The Bishopric of Carlisle was founded during this schism in the Papacy, without any reference being made to the Pope, of which, Adelwald, the King's confessor, was appointed the first Bishop, A. D. 1132.

King Henry left England, and sailed for Normandy August 7th, A. D. 1133, to congratulate his daughter, the Empress, on the birth of her first son; from whence he never returned. The peace of the nation was undisturbed by any foreign foe, and the contentions at Rome between the rival Popes, left the church of England at liberty to enjoy her own privileges. Henry having lost all his other legitimate children, became doatingly fond of his daughter and her children, with whom he spent a large portion of his last days. The King spent Nov. 25th, in hunting in the forest of Lyons, and at night, supped plentifully on lampreys, which were his favourite dish, but in the night he was seized with a fever of which he died on Sunday, December 1st, A. D. 1135, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.*

* Chron. Saxon, p. 237. Henry, vol. 5, p. 81.

Henry I. was a man of great natural parts, improved by a learned education, which procured him the surname of Beauclerc, or the *Fine Scholar*. He was unquestionably the greatest general and wisest politician of the age in which he lived, and to this he was much indebted for his success and prosperity. Among his best qualities may be noticed, his tender affection for his children,—his courage,--diligence,—activity, and his strictness in the administration of justice; though this last was sometimes bordering on cruelty. He manifested great firmness in opposing the usurpation of the Pope of Rome over the church of England. His leading vices were his lewdness, avarice, and ambition; which were all extremely excessive, as appears from the number of his natural children, of which he had six sons and seven daughters;—from his oppressive taxes and great treasures;—and from him usurping the kingdom of England and Duchy of Normandy.*

King Henry, after the death of his son, had taken great pains to secure the succession of his dominions to his only legitimate daughter Maude the Empress, and her children. To secure this he had got all Bishops, Nobles, and great men both of England and

* W. Malms. l. 5. Orderic. Vital. l. 12, 13. Extr Hen. v. 5. 7. p. 82.

Normandy to take solemn and repeated oaths to maintain that succession; to which they made not the least objection, especially after the death of Prince William, his eldest brother's son. But all these precautions were in vain; for no sooner was Henry's death made known, than to the astonishment of the world, Stephen, Earl of Boulongne, grandson of William the Conqueror, and nephew of Henry I, mounted the empty throne, and seized the crown, in violation of his own most solemn oaths,—of every shadow of right, while his daughter Maude, her three sons, and his own elder brother were alive. Stephen had expressed himself a zealous asserter of the rights of the Empress Maude, as might be expected out of gratitude to his uncle Henry, who had given him the Earldom of Mortaigne in Normandy, and had procured him the marriage of his niece, the Princess Matilda, the only child of Mary of Scotland, his Queen's sister, and of Eustace Earl of Boulogne, in whose right he enjoyed that Earldom, and all the great estates of the family in England. But ambition will break through every bond of obligation and gratitude; and while intent upon the prize, is blind to all the dangers and difficulties in the way of attaining the object.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, but made all possible speed into England; where his intentions being suspected, he found the gates both of Dover and Canterbury shut against him. Not diverted from his purpose by these inauspicious beginnings, he proceeded to London, where he was received with the loudest acclamations by the lower orders, with whom he was very popular. There were two persons in England, without whose consent it was hardly possible for him to mount the throne. These were, William Corboyl, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger Bishop of Salisbury, chief justiciary and Regent of the kingdom. These men had both been raised by Henry to the high offices they held, and had taken the oaths of fealty to his daughter Maude, but Stephen, assisted by his brother Henry Bishop of Winchester, found means of gaining them over to his interest. To the Bishop of Salisbury, whose avarice and ambition were insatiable, he promised every thing he chose to ask for himself or his friends, without any intention to perform what he promised. Having to their no small reproach gained over these Prelates to his interest, he was solemnly crowned and anointed King at Westminster, by the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, December 22nd, A. D. 1135.

Stephen made many pompous promises at his coronation of what great things he would do for the church, which he soon after confirmed by a royal charter. For in those days an advancement of the power and riches of the church was sufficient to justify the most immoral means by which they were accomplished. Nor was Pope Innocent II, (the Pope acknowledged by England, for there were two Popes at this time) more scrupulous on this occasion, than the English Prelates; for he sent Stephen a bull to confirm him in his usurpation of the crown,* which brought over all the Clergy to his side.

William Corboyl, Archbishop of Canterbury, did not live long to see the fatal effects of his imprudent compliance with the court of Rome, in accepting the legantine commission, nor of the part he had performed in the usurpation of King Stephen; for he died December 19th, A. D. 1137, in the fifteenth year of his Pontificate. Stephen kept the Archbishopric vacant upwards of two years, contrary to those solemn promises he made at his coronation, and confirmed by his charter. After the death of the Primate,

* W. Malms. p. 102, col. 1. See Henry, vol. 5, p. 319.

Stephen solicited the Pope to grant a legantine commission to his brother Henry Bishop of Winchester, which he obtained; but subsequent events prove, that the King had cause to regret that his favour was granted.

By the death of Anacletus the antipope, and the resignation of Victor his successor, which took place A. D. 1138, Innocent II, began to assume a more magisterial manner in directing the affairs of the church of England. The Pope having assisted Stephen in his usurpation of the crown; and now, being himself delivered from a powerful rival, and seeing Stephen involved in a civil war with the rightful heir to the throne, he embraced this as the most favourable season for establishing that absolute authority over the affairs of the church of England, which none of his predecessors had been able to accomplish. He began by recalling the legantine commission he had granted to Henry Bishop of Winchester, the King's brother, and sent a creature of his own, Albericus, Bishop of Ostea, as his legate into England. This bold assumption of papal power, was equally disagreeable to the King and his brother. But they had already conceded too much to the Pope, for the accomplishment of their own private purposes, to make any successful stand against his present encroach-

ments; they, therefore, tamely submitted to let Albericus execute his legantine commission, in virtue of which he summoned a national synod, which met at Westminster, December 13th, A. D. 1138, over which he presided. In this synod sixteen canons were promulgated by the sole authority of the Pope, without so much as mentioning the consent of the council, though there were seventeen Bishops, thirty Abbots, and a great multitude of the inferior Clergy present.*

At the conclusion of this council, the legate proceeded to a still more daring invasion of the prerogatives of the crown and church of England, by nominating Theobald, Abbot of Becc in Normandy, to the vacant see of Canterbury; who was accordingly chosen on the Sunday before Christmas, and consecrated at Canterbury, by the legate, January 19th, A. D. 1139. The appointment of Theobald to the Primacy, was mortifying in the extreme to the King's brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who had long been expecting to mount the archiepiscopal throne. Suspecting that the King had secretly contributed to his disappointment, this haughty, ambitious, and vindictive Pre-

* Chron. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1344, 1347, vide Henry, vol. p. 3, 21.

late, began to meditate revenge against his brother the King, which change of affairs soon afforded him a favourable opportunity of executing.

Soon after his consecration, Theobald accompanied Albericus, the Pope's legate, to Rome, when the Bishop of Winchester immediately resumed the exercise of his legantine commission, and governed the church with a high hand.

Stephen was in daily expectation of England being invaded by the Empress Maude, and her natural brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, which made him anxious to get possession of all the strong castles belonging to those whom he thought would be most favourable to their interest.

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, had many years held the high offices of Justiciary and Prime Minister of Henry I, and had built several strong castles; particularly one at the Devizes, which was considered the most beautiful fortress in Europe. Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigell, Bishop of Ely, his two nephews, and his natural son Roger, who had been Chancellor of England in the late reign, had each built very strong and magnificent castles, which excited the envy of the nobility as well as the jealousy of the King. The following scheme

was devised for putting the King in possession of the castles of this powerful family.

The King convened a great council of the nobility to meet at Oxford, on June 24th, A. D. 1139, to which these Prelates were invited, a summons which they obeyed with some hesitation. After their arrival at Oxford, a quarrel was designedly raised between the servants of Alan, Earl of Brittany, and those of Bishop Roger, about their lodgings, in which one Knight was killed, and many people wounded. The King affected to be highly incensed at this breach of the peace within the verge of his court, and commanded the Bishop and all his friends to be arrested, when the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, with the Chancellor, were all seized; but the Bishop of Ely, who was lodging out of the town, on hearing what had happened, fled to his uncle's castle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend. When the Bishops and the Chancellor were brought before the King, they were commanded to surrender all their castles, as an atonement for their offence. They professed themselves willing to make any reasonable compensation; but refused to deliver up their houses.

The King immediately dispatched William d' Ypres, the executioner of all his

violent measures, to besiege the castle of the Devizes, and to carry with him the Bishop of Salisbury, its owner, a prisoner, and his son the Chancellor in chains.

When he came before the castle, he summoned the Bishop of Ely to surrender; threatening, that if he did not, he would starve his uncle to death. When he found that his first threat did not procure the desired effect, he sent a message to Maude of Ramsey, the Bishop's concubine, and the Chancellor's mother, who was in the castle, "that if it was not immediately delivered up, he would hang her son before her eyes." Knowing the sanguinary nature of the man, and trembling for the fate of a beloved son, she persuaded the commander to surrender this impregnable fortress, in which was found no less than forty thousand marks of the Bishop's treasure, which was all seized by the King. The Bishop of Lincoln was carried in like manner before his castles of Newark and Sliford, and their commanders were prevailed upon to surrender them to prevent the Bishop from being starved to death. When the King had got all their castles and treasures into his hands, the Bishop and Chancellor were set at liberty; but the old Bishop of Sarum was so much

affected with this sad reverse of fortune, that he died soon after of a broken heart.*

This transaction raised a violent commotion through the land, especially among the Clergy, who cried out aloud, that the church and religion were on the brink of ruin; but by none was the King's conduct so much blamed, as by his own brother, the Bishop of Winchester; who, to gratify his own resentment, repaired to court, and commanded the King to restore the castles and property he had violently taken from the three Bishops. The Bishop received such a reply as might be expected from the King, a positive refusal to part with either the castles or property. He then by virtue of his legantine commission (though the Pope had previously recalled it,) convened a council of the Clergy to meet at Winchester, on the 30th of August; and boldly summoned the King to appear before them to answer for his conduct. Degraded as the Kings of Europe were, by the encroachments made on their prerogatives by the see of Rome, Stephen did not stoop so low as to appear in person, but he sent some of his chief nobility to demand the reason of his being summoned; when the legate returned him the following haughty answer. "That as the King pre-

* Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 944, 945. R. Hoveden, ad. ann. 1139

" tended to be a Christian, he ought not to " be surprised that he was commanded by the " Ministers of Christ to give them satisfac- " tion; especially, as he was conscious of the " horrid crime of imprisoning Bishops, and " stripping them of their possessions; a " crime which had never been heard of be- " fore in any Christian age." * The legate added, " That if the King was not a fool, he would come immediately, and submit to the judgement of the Clergy, to whom he owed his crown." The report of the commissioners was mortifying in the extreme to Stephen, but in his present circumstances, he thought it best to suppress his resentment, and to temporize. He then sent them back to the council, with Alberic de Vere, the most eloquent lawyer of that age, to plead his cause.

The legate opened the council with a most inflammatory speech, painting the injustice, violence, and cruelty of the King's conduct towards the Bishops in the blackest colours; and concluded with this declaration,—"That neither the fear of losing his brother's favour, nor even of losing his own life, should deter him from putting their sentence, whatever it should be into execution. The King's counsellor aggravated the insolence of the

* W. Malms. Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 323.

Bishops, and the circumstances of the riot at Oxford, as much as possible, and pretended, that they had voluntarily surrendered their castles and treasures to the King, to atone for their offences. But the best defence made on behalf of the King, was by the Archbishop of Roune, the only Clergyman who espoused his cause; he affirmed, that the Bishops had merited all they had suffered for transgressing the canons of the church, by fortifying their castles, and acting in a military capacity. But all this would not have prevented the *ex-legate* from pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the King, and all who had been concerned in the late transactions, if some of the nobles had not laid their hand on their swords, and put the members of the council in fear; and, if Alberic de Vere had not undertaken the dangerous and humiliating step of appealing to the Pope in the King's name.

Just after the conclusion of the above council, the civil war broke out between King Stephen and the Empress Maude; when the calamities of war, in their most horrid forms, raged from one end of the kingdom to another; and the whole nation was inflamed with more than civil fury. All the petty lords of castles, of which there

were several hundreds in the kingdom, declared for the King, or for the Empress, and immediately commenced a war on those of the opposite party with whom they were intermixed; so that in every direction might be seen, the smoke of burning towns, villages, monasteries, and churches. Commerce ceased; and even agriculture was in many places discontinued, which brought on a dreadful famine by which thousands perished.

Though there were numerous surprises, skirmishes, and sieges, there was no general action that contributed to bring the contest to a close, until the 2nd of February, A. D. 1141, when a general battle was fought near Lincoln, in which the King's army was completely routed, and himself taken prisoner by the Earl of Gloucester, who treated him with great humanity; and having presented him to his rival the Empress in the castle of Gloucester, he then conducted him to the castle of Bristol, where he was confined.

Soon after the defeat of Stephen, Henry Bishop of Winchester, had an interview with the Empress, and the day after she made her triumphant entry into Winchester, and was conducted to the cathedral by the legate, who publicly recognized her Queen of Eng-

land, and denounced a curse on all who refused to submit to her authority. He then, by the advice of the Empress, convened a great council of Prelates, Abbots, and principal Clergy, with deputies from the city of London, to meet at Winchester on the 7th of April. The legate first held a consultation with the Prelates in private, and next with the Abbots, and, lastly, with the Archdeacons, and thus gained each over to acknowledge the Empress. He then opened the council with a very artful speech, in which he passed the highest encomiums on the felicities of his uncle Henry's reign; and reminded them of having sworn to support the succession of his daughter Maude; but that she delaying to come and take possession of the throne, his brother Stephen had been permitted to reign. He then dilated on the errors of his brother's government, and particularly in imprisoning the Bishops, and oppressing the church and Clergy; for which crimes, said he, God had rejected him. And now, that the kingdom may not be without a ruler, we, the Clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect and ordain a King, having yesterday deliberated on this great cause in private, and invoked the direction of the Holy Spirit, did and do elect, the daughter of the pacific,

rich, glorious, good, and incomparable King Henry, to be our Queen, and promise her our loyal support. To this, all who were present gave their assent, either by their acclamations or by silence. On the third day the deputies of the city of London were introduced to the council. They said they did not come to debate, but to petition for the liberty of their King; which was earnestly desired by the whole community of London, with all the Barons lately admitted into it. To convince them that this could not be granted, the legate repeated the oration he had made the day before; and then added, "It very ill becomes the citizens of London, who are regarded as a kind of nobles in England, to favour that party of the nobility, who had abandoned their Prince in battle;—who had persuaded him to dishonour the holy church, and who seemed to court the Londoners with no other view than to squeeze money from them." The council concluded on the third day, with pronouncing a sentence of excommunication on several of the most active Barons of the King's party; and particularly on one William Martel, who had plundered the legate's baggage.*

* W. Malms. Hist. Novel l, 2, p. 106-109.

During these violent struggles between the contending candidates for the crown, Thurstan Archbishop of York died, and the Canons of that cathedral proceeded immediately to elect a successor, without so much as even consulting either of the two rivals. But unhappily, these Canons were not unanimous in their choice; one part of them declared for William, treasurer of the church of York, and nephew to King Stephen, being the son of his sister Emma; and the other party put in nomination Henry Murdak, Abbot of Fountains, in Yorkshire. Instead of this dispute being settled by the court of England, it was immediately referred to the court of Rome, where it was kept pending for five years at an immense expence; and was at last determined in favour of the Abbot through the influence of his friend St. Barnard. Such a complete ascendency had the court of Rome then obtained over the church of England.

In the following year A. D. 1142, the fate of the war took a different turn, chiefly, through the ungracious, and insolent manner in which the Empress behaved to her friends, and especially to the citizens of London; who being irritated at her behaviour, and dreading the severity of her government, they formed a plot to seize her person; but

being informed of their design by one of the accomplices, she made her escape to Oxford.

The Legate having for some time declined to appear at the Queen's court, the Earl of Gloucester paid him a visit at Winchester, when he soon discovered that his intentions were unfriendly. Upon this the Empress attended by the King of Scots, the Earl of Gloucester, and several other Barons, with their followers, marched suddenly to Winchester; and being received into the royal castle, sent a messenger to invite the Legate to come to court to give his advice on business of importance. The crafty Prelate sent a reply saying, "That he would make ready as fast as possible;" but he meant for resistance, and not obedience. Accordingly he sent couriers to Queen Matilda, who was at the head of a body of troops in Kent,—to the Londoners, and to all the friends of King Stephen, to come to him immediately with all their forces. His orders were so promptly obeyed that in a few days, he found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he laid siege to the castle of Winchester. The Empress, the King of Scotland, the Earl of Gloucester, and all the chief supporters of her cause, were shut up in one castle, in the most imminent danger of

either perishing by famine, or falling into the hands of their enemies.

In this extremity the Earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for their deliverance. In those superstitious times, the most hostile armies suspended their operations on the festivals of the church.

The festival of the Holy Cross, was on the 14th of September; and very early in the morning of that day, the Empress mounted on a swift horse, and attended by a few choice troops, marched silently out of Winchester, and made her escape to the Devizes, where she arrived almost dead with terror and fatigue, and from thence was conveyed in a horse-litter to Gloucester. The King of Scotland eluded his pursuers, and reached his own kingdom; but the Earl of Gloucester was less fortunate, having placed himself in the rear, he was pursued by a superior force, and taken prisoner at Stokebridge, and from there conducted to Rochester castle.

This was as severe a stroke to the interests of the Empress's party, as the captivity of Stephen had been to his friends. When the violent ebulition occasioned by these revolutionary transitions had a little subsided, a negotiation was opened, and the two illustrious prisoners were exchanged on November 1st, A. D. 1141. King Stephen having

obtained his liberty, the Legate to whom the King was chiefly indebted for his deliverance, convened a national council which met at Winchester in the beginning of December, in which he acted a part directly opposite to that he had acted in the council of Winchester eight months before, and concluded with excommunicating all who adhered to the Countess of Anjou, which was the highest title he now gave the Empress, whom he had so lately proclaimed Queen of England. The King being introduced into the council, made bitter complaints of the rebellion of his subjects, and of the injuries he and his friends had sustained. The Legate exerted all his eloquence to excuse his former conduct, and declared that every thing he had done in favour of the Countess had been the effect of constraint and force.* Though few gave him credit for what he asserted, none contradicted him but one layman, who stood up, and boldly affirmed, that the Empress had come into England in consequence of his frequent and earnest solicitations, and had done nothing but by his direction and advice. The Legate heard this manly accusation without any apparent emotion, and proceeded with the business without making any reply.

* W. Malms. Hist. Novel. p. 106-108. Gesta Regis Steph. p. 254-259.

Though the civil war was not brought to a close, yet there was a temporary suspension of active operations, owing to a severe fit of sickness which King Stephen was seized with in the spring, and the absence of the Earl of Gloucester who was gone into Normandy to bring over the Empress's husband and her son Prince Henry. In the mean time the Empress took up her residence in the city of Oxford, where she was guarded by the noblemen of her party who pledged their honour to protect her till the return of the Earl. The King lost no time after his recovery, before he commenced active operations. He took the town and castle of Wareham, and then marched with such secrecy and expedition, that he surprised and took the city of Oxford, when the Empress and her relative had to take shelter in the castle, which the King immediately invested, and swore that he would never raise the siege till he had taken his rival prisoner. At the end of three months, the castle was reduced to the last extremity, from which the Empress made her escape in a very remarkable manner. The river being frozen over, and the ground covered over with snow, she dressed herself and three trusty Knights in white, and issuing silently about midnight, at a postern of the castle,

passed all the enemies' centinels unobserved, travelled from thence on foot to Abingdon, and from thence on horse back to Wallingford. Here she was soon after joined by an army that was marching to her relief, under the command of her brother the Earl of Gloucester, who had with him her son Prince Henry. The pleasure of seeing her son, made her soon forget all her past dangers and fatigues. The castle of Oxford surrendered the morning after her escape, and the season being unfit for action, the Barons with their followers were permitted to return to their own homes.*

The Legate convened a council which was held in London about the middle of Lent, A. D. 1143, for the purpose of providing some security to the persons and property of the Clergy, from that violence to which they were exposed under the rage of the civil wars. One of the canons of this council was:—"That none who violated a church "or church yard, or laid violent hands on "a Clerk, should be absolved from excom-"munication by any but the Pope." This canon put a little restraint on the rapacity of such as would eagerly seize the property of the church, when screened from exposure by the commotions of the times.

* Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 959. Extr. Henry, vol. 5, p. 109.

The continuance of these civil wars year after year, covered the unhappy land with a dence cloud of desolation, till, as a contemporary historian states, "All England, in the mean time, wore a face of misery and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile; others forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in church-yards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger; and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex."*

The legate, elated by his legantine authority, and his great interest at the court of Rome, is said to have formed a scheme of getting Winchester erected into an Archbishopric by the Pope. This scheme, if an ancient historian be correct, was carried so far, that Pope Lucius sent the legate a pall, and intended to have assigned him seven Bishops for his suffragans.† But however well his scheme was designed, its execution was prevented, either by the death of the Pope which took place near this time, or the general

* Gesta Regis Stephani, p. 961. † Anglia Sacra. t. 1. p. 300.

confusion occasioned by the protracted civil wars.

Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, had long felt mortified that his suffragan, Henry Bishop of Winchester and brother of the King, should exercise an authority over him, in virtue of his legantine commission. This led to many unhappy disputes between these two Prelates, which were prosecuted in the court of Rome with great warmth on both sides.

Pope Eugenius III, convened a council to be held at Rheims in Lent, A. D. 1148, and summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury and several English Bishops to attend it. The legate prevailed upon his brother the King, to prohibit the Primate from attending that council, hoping, that if the Archbishop slighted the prohibition, he would offend the King; and if he obeyed it, he would incur the displeasure of the Pope. In this dilemma, the Archbishop chose what he thought the lesser evil of the two, that was, to disobey his secular rather than his spiritual sovereign. Theobald made his escape out of England as secretly as possible, and was received by the Pope at Rheims, with every mark of respect; and, as some authors affirm, commissioned him to be his *legatus natus*. On his return to England, he was

so coldly received by King Stephen, that he thought proper to retire to France, until a reconciliation was patched up that was never cordial on either side.

After Theobald was restored to his see, in virtue of his legantine authority he held a general council of the English Clergy at London, about the middle of Lent, A. D. 1151. It does not appear that any canons were made at this council; and though King Stephen, his eldest son Prince Eustace, and the chief Nobility of England were present, its peace was much disturbed, and its authority diminished by appeals to Rome from its decrees, of which no fewer than three were taken.* The practice of appealing from an English council, to the Pope of Rome, was first introduced by the late legate, Henry Bishop of Winchester; and it was now become so common, that all ecclesiastical causes of importance, were finally determined in the court of Rome.

In this and the preceding reign, the Pope made great encroachments on the prerogatives of the crown, by depriving the King of the right of granting investiture to his Prelates; and on the privileges of the church and Clergy, by establishing the legantine authority,—and enforcing celibacy on the in-

* Henry vol. 5. p. 329.

ferior Clergy. Such was the dominating and debasing influence the see of Rome exercised over the church of England, when death put a period to the unhappy life and reign of King Stephen, on the 25th October, A. D. 1154.

ERRATA.

Page 2,	line 18,	for *reformed*, read *performed.*
8,	26,	for *munuple*, read *municiple.*
19,	7,	for *Paterick*, read *Patrick.*
20,	9,	for *churh*, read *church.*
120,	1,	for *strangerr*, read *strangers.*
126,	19,	for *He then addressed*, read *He addressed.*
145,	14,	for *impositing*, read *imposition.*
167,	21,	for *at St. Martin's* read *of St. Martin's.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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